SUDAN

THE CHRISTIAN DESIGN

HASSAN MAKKI MOHAMED AHMED



The Islamic Foundation

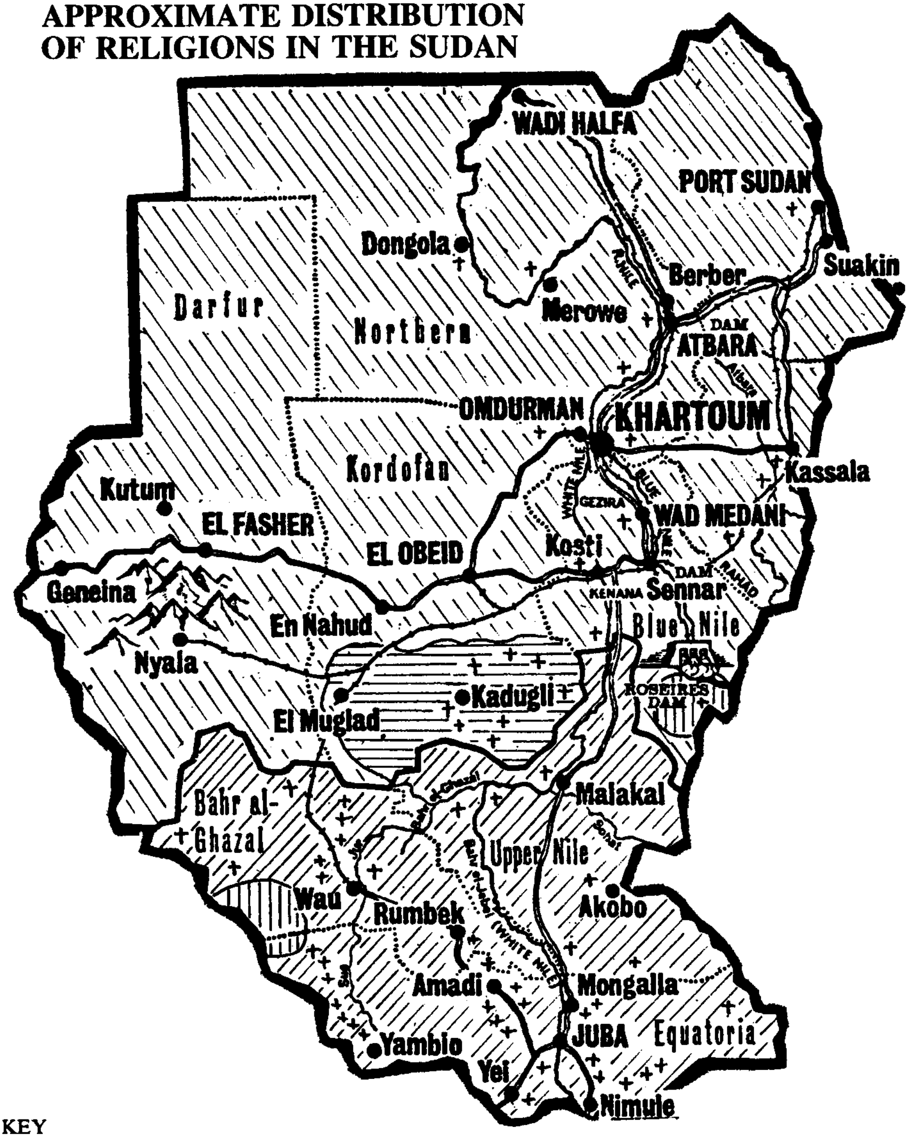
Sudan:
The Christian Design

A Study of the Missionary Factor in Sudan's Cultural and Political Integration: 1843–1986

HASSAN MAKKI MOHAMED AHMED

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APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF RELIGIONS IN THE SUDAN



KEY

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Railway	Church	85% Animist 10% Muslim 5% Christian	60% Animist 20% Muslim 20% Christian	50% Muslim 30% Christian 20% Animist	90–100% Muslim

Preface

This study is an effort to look at the roots and dimensions of Christian missions to Sudan, and their impact, in the period 1843–1986. It hopes to throw some light on many problem areas, such as:

1. The role of Mission in the field of education, culture and social services, especially in Southern Sudan and other under-developed areas. Certain areas of Sudan were dependent on such services for a long time. The role of Mission needs to be studied in order to determine its feasibility and usefulness.

2. The effect and significance of the pre-independence National Movement-Mission conflict, and its far-reaching consequences. This conflict still casts its shadow on the State-Mission relationship and on the community.

3. Mission and secular discourse extremism. For the last thirty years (since 1955) Sudan has witnessed a militant brand of secular discourse extremism. It became the norm for such discourse to express itself by raising arms, involvement in guerrilla activities against the right of Islamic culture to exist in the South and to dominate in the North. Many Church organizations and associations embraced the heralds of such discourse, introduced them to the world and blessed their activities.

This study comprises six chapters. The first and second deal with the entry of Christianity into Africa in four historical phases: the first being the diffusion of Christianity after the raising of Jesus by his Lord unto Himself. The Coptic Orthodox Church was born and flourished in Egypt, followed by the Christian diffusion in North Africa, Ethiopia and the Nuba Christian Kingdoms. The second phase was ushered in by the Crusade Campaign that struggled in vain

to impose European Christianity on Egypt and North Africa. The Crusade was in essence a trial-run of expansionism and cultural domination of the Muslim world, and not simply aimed at capturing al-Quds, 'Jerusalem'. The third phase coincided with the era of geographical 'discoveries' and Portuguese expansionism on the eastern and south-eastern coast of Africa. The fourth phase, the contemporary one, started in the era of the Africa-Scramble and still casts its shadow on present-day Africa. The Church came either under the protection of the occupying armies or before them in order to pave the way by taming the indigenous population and planting the love of Western superiority in their hearts.

In modern Sudan, Christian diffusion consists of two phases. In phase one, between 1843 and 1881, the pioneers were Catholic. The Christian venture flourished under the banner of the secular Turkish elite government. This period was distinguished for its difficulties of terrain and environmental hardships among hostile tribes, difficulties further complicated by cultural and language barriers; scores of missionaries died in the unexplored Sudanese territory while trying to plant the Cross.

The Christian contact contributed positively to the outbreak of Islamic *Jihād,* of the Mahdiyya, when mission stations were demolished and the European missionaries who tried to resist the Mahdiyya arrested. The Catholics, who established the Sudan Church in exile, collaborated with other European Churches and powers to distort the Mahdiyya image, mobilize international public opinion against it and participated in the campaign which led to the destruction of the Mahdiyya Islamic state.

The third and fourth chapters discuss the efforts of Christian mission between 1900 and 1956. This period witnessed a flow of missionaries who exerted themselves in the art of planting European Christianity and Western culture. The study investigates the role of the British administration in enabling the mission to get a hold in the Sudan, subduing fundamental Islam and encouraging what came to be known as 'reformed Islam'. Such policies as 'District Closed Ordinance of Southern Sudan' and 'Southern Policy' are discussed at length. The 17 August, 1955 mutiny

was a result of such policies and Christian Mission education and culture. The Southern Sudanese mentality was stamped and inflamed for fifty years with a hatred-culture which made the emergence of a unified national identity virtually impossible.

The fifth and sixth chapters describe the growth of the National Movement, and Mission suspicion and enmity to that growth. Mission developed a conflict personality against the national venture, like the spread of Arabic language, North-South integration and nationalization of education. The study examines the Church development in Sudan and reflects on how evangelization in the North and the involvement of the American mission in converting an under-aged girl in the 1940s, contributed to the emergence of the Muslim Brothers Movement, *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*. The study discloses the invisible hand of the Church behind the mutiny scene and mutiny culture. The Mission-European culture, preaching such ideas as that polygamy is an anti-God design, sexual desire and death are essentially an unnatural experience and the result of human sin, and Africans are the descendants of the damned Ham, forced some of the African elite to seek salvation in the gospel of Marx and Lenin. The process of Church Sudanization, its significance and the contemporary Church are also discussed. The study concludes that Christian diffusion and Church life are in a terminal state in Sudan. The Church culture which prevailed in the last half century has proved insufficient to enable happiness, tranquillity, harmony and integration. The European Church culture being alien, created tensions, strains, anger, lack of drive, to a breaking-point and self-destruction. It failed to provide human values like work-love, responsibility, co-operation, tolerance, courage, patience, hope and integration. The tragedy was that the alien culture destroyed the old one and community tradition without putting anything in its place. Energy, resources and feelings were diverted towards aggressiveness against the North, Arabism and Islam. To achieve transition to civilization the South needs a new leadership to redress the balance: leadership and people of influence, vision, goodwill and of the Book. The study concludes that Islam at least should be given a

chance to show whether it can help in redressing the present human tragedy.

For help in making this study I am indebted to many institutions and individuals. Thanks are due to the authorities of the Islamic African Centre, Khartoum, Africa Muslims Agency, Kuwait and the Islamic Foundation, Leicester – without their help and support this study could not have been possible.

19 December, 1988 **Hassan Makki M. Ahmed**

CHAPTER ONE

The Entry of Christianity into Africa

(with special reference to Sudan)

Introduction

Christianity was introduced to Africa in four distinct phases. At first it took root peacefully in Egypt, North Africa, Ethiopia and Sudan in the period AD 42–500.

In the second phase, Christians interacted mainly with Egyptians and Muslims of the Mediterranean during the Crusades when Pope Urban II declared Muslims were an 'unclean, accursed race of Saracens'.[1] But this interaction led to a more enduring and significant result of the increased familiarity with the Muslim and his world and the gradual evolution of a new attitude towards Islam. Instead of 'cleaning the face of the earth', by destroying 'God's enemies',[2] we began to hear, from the mid-twelfth century on, voices publicly denouncing or at least criticizing the violence against the Muslims. These new voices advocated a more humanitarian alternative by which the Europeans were urged to win over the Muslim to the Christian fold. Thus the seeds of the missionary movement which persists even today were sown.

In England, this new peaceful orientation in which spiritual weapons were recommended for use against the Muslims was advocated by the founder of English philosophy, Roger Bacon (1214–92). Bacon, who owed much of his thinking to Muslim works, attacked the idea of Crusading which he saw as an attempt to enslave the Muslims rather than to liberate Jerusalem. He called upon his contemporaries to approach

the Muslim armed with 'arguments of a superior religion'.[3]

For all that, the Christian powers – in the third phase – followed in the footsteps of the Crusade. Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1488. In 1498, Vasco Da Gama, on his famous journey to India, did not hesitate to bombard the Islamic cities on the East African Coast. By 1520, all the Muslim sultanates between Sofala (Mozambique) and Cape Guardaful (East African Coast) had been brutally seized and destroyed by Portugal. Christopher Da Gama came from Portugal to Abyssinia to oust the Muslims from there (1541–43). Then the Portuguese Jesuits entered Ethiopia to introduce Roman Catholicism but failed miserably. All Portuguese were expelled from Abyssinia for their misdeeds.[4]

In the following three centuries both Roman Catholic and Protestant Christianity were introduced, the former by the Portuguese and the latter through the Dutch and the British and, to a lesser extent through French Huguenot exiles and the Moravians.[5] The first European settlers were the Dutch in 1652, and Church attention centred on securing clergy for them rather than for missions to Africa. The first missionary to the indigenous people (the Hottentot) was George Schmidt sent by the Moravians in 1737. Christianity was mostly Roman Catholic and to be found only on the fringes of Africa. With the decay of Portuguese power in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it had dwindled. In some areas it had disappeared, in other areas it had persisted but unenergetically.[6]

The fourth phase coincided with Europe's abolishing the slave trade and slave traffic for economic and political reasons and the scramble for Africa. In the eighteenth century Europeans stole the black man from his country, in the nineteenth century they stole the Africans' country from them. This era witnessed the great success of planting European Christianity in Africa. To summarize that achievement and to understand how great that progress has been, it is necessary only to take a look at the map of sub-Saharan Africa as it was in 1863, and compare it with a map indicating the extent of Christian penetration today. In 1863 there were only a handful of Africans who converted to the European

brand of Christianity; today there are about 236 million nominal Christians affiliated to Western churches, which according to Christian statistics is 45 per cent of Africa's population. [7]

Egypt was the first land in Africa to come into contact with Christianity. Christianity came to Egypt during the first century AD. Tradition has it that St. Mark was the founder of the Church of Alexandria in AD 42. Monophysitism grew in strength in Egypt with the term 'Melchite' being given to those Christians who accepted the dogmatic decision of Chalcedon.[8] During the first half of the fifth century, the unity of the Roman Christian Empire, was seriously threatened by two rival sectarian groups, the Monophysites and the Duophysites. The former believed that the divine and human nature of Jesus were fused together indivisibly into a unified personality. The latter believed that Christ was the perfect God and perfect man, consubstantial with the Father according to His Deity, consubstantial with the people according to His humanity, in two natures, without confusion or change, without division or separation.[9]

As a result of the Council of Chalcedon in AD 451, the Duophysites became the official flock of the Roman Church. The Duophysite doctrine is a compromise between the divine Character of Jesus as it was expressed by the Eastern Church and by the materialistic Romano-Greek heritage. The Monophysite doctrine was deeply rooted in the Egyptian soil, being drawn from the Pharaohs' teaching who had been regarded as gods. By AD 639 the overwhelming majority of Egyptian Christians had accepted the Monophysite position, and this remains the official stance of the Coptic Orthodox Church.

North Africa was the second African area to be approached by Christianity. Christianity was implanted in Tunisia and Algeria near the end of the first century and suffered many persecutions and schisms.[10] Morocco accepted Christianity in the second century, as did the Berbers, the original inhabitants, of Libya. The Romans conquered North Africa and the Roman power was consolidated. Under Justinian (527–65), Christianity in North Africa was weakened by theological disputes involving Egyptian, Roman, and Berber

revolts. The Berbers, exhausted by schism and disputes, welcomed the first of several waves of Muslims in AD 630, bringing Islam and Arabic language, though Arabic-Islamic culture remained basically confined to towns until the eleventh century, the era of general conversion to Islam. The last contacts between the Roman Pope and the Bishop of Carthage took place in 1076, at a time when Christianity in North Africa was demoralized and disunited. No surprise that it disappeared completely thereafter, leaving the land and people for the more relevant Islam.

Ethiopia was the third African land to receive Christianity in the early part of the fourth century, from a shipwrecked youth from Tyre, north of Palestine. Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria, later appointed Frumentius, enjoyed the protection of the Ethiopian King from 332; the Ethiopian Church was a daughter Church of Egypt until 1959 when it became autonomous.[11]

The Deliverance of the Coptic Church by Islam

The Coptic Church and its flock in Egypt suffered in the seventh century at the hands of Byzantine rule and its Roman Church. The Coptics – Jacobites – who formed the majority of the Christian population, had been roughly handled by the Orthodox adherents of the court, and subjected to indignities that have not been forgotten by their children even to the present day.[12] Some were tortured and then thrown into the sea. Many followed their Patriarch into exile to escape from the hands of their Christian persecutors, while a large number disguised their real opinion, under a pretended acceptance of the Council of Chalcedon. Justinian is said to have had 200,000 Copts put to death in the city of Alexandria.[13] The Muslim conquest in AD 648 was therefore welcomed. The coming of Muslims, known for their tolerance, ended the Egyptians' ordeal. The Christian Copts looked to the Muslims as their saviours. The Muslims left them in undisturbed possession of their churches and guaranteed them autonomy in all ecclesiastical matters, thus delivering them from the continual interference that had been so grievous a burden under the previous rule.

Islam rapidly attracted by its clear divine doctrine more and more Coptics, and the Egyptians were gradually, peacefully and voluntarily Islamized till Islam took its final shape in Egypt by AD 950 in an era distinguished by general conversion to Islam.

Fourth Century Christianity at the Gates of Nubia 'Sudan'

By the fourth century, the land of Nubia – Northern Sudan – was a land without religion surrounded by Christianity in Egypt, North Africa and Ethiopia. Nubia had experienced from the earliest times important and continuous external cultural influences, started by the Egyptian Pharaohs, who fully incorporated Nubia into the Egyptian state as early as 340 BC.[14] The most important Nubian Kingdom was Napota 750–300 BC which conquered all Egypt and extended the Nubian border to the Mediterranean and Jerusalem. The Nubian King Tirhaka is mentioned in the Hebrew Bible. Some legends indicate that the Pharaoh who summoned magicians to counter Moses' miracles did so from Nubia. The Kingdom of Merowe succeeded Napota, 300 BC–AD 350. The fall of the Merowitic kingdom was probably due chiefly to the arrival of new immigrants and the invasion of Aeizanes – known as the Ethiopian Axumites invasion – who destroyed the dynasty and broke up the Kingdom.

From the Fall of Merowe to Justinian AD 527–65

No accurate information is available about this period, but it seems Nubia as a whole entered an era of anarchy, believing in different sorts of gods, some accustomed to sacrificing human beings to the sun.[15] At this same time, Egyptian Coptics who were unable to bear the burden of persecution naturally fled to Sudan Nubia, where they took refuge and preached their faith. The Roman Emperor Justinian who was persecuting the Coptics sent some missionaries to Nubia to propagate the Duophysite doctrine. Surprisingly, his wife Theodora, a Monophysite, sent secretly and on her own account, some missionaries to propagate the Monophysite doctrine.

The three groups, 'the persecuted Copts, Justinian's mission, Theodora's mission' each developed a distinct sphere of influence. Three Christian kingdoms emerged in Nubia, Nobadia, Makuria and Alwa. Makuria was converted by Duophysite missionaries,[16] while the kingdoms of Nobadia and Alwa remained faithful to the Monophysite Church of Egypt and were to render it valuable service in the future. Many temples in Nubia were converted into churches, other churches were founded, but the main weakness in the process of the implantation of Christianity was that it remained the religion of the elite, confined to ruling families and nobles. The masses were untouched and left in ignorance. Theological disputes hindered the effort to promote a unified national Church.

Nubia and the Coming of Islam

Before Christianity had celebrated its centenary, Islam began to knock at the gates of the Sudan. It seems that the Nubians' first encounter with the Islamic faith was in the time of the Prophet himself, when the Prophet's Companions took refuge – 132 men and women – in Axum, whose borders had once extended as far as Merowe in the heart of Nubia.

But the contact with far-reaching consequences took place when the Prophet's Companion 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Sarḥ, who succeeded the Companion 'Amr b. al-'Āṣi, as Governor of Egypt in AD 646–7 (AH 25), penetrated Nubia as far as its capital Dongola in Ramaḍān AD 662. He made a treaty with the Nubians which give the Muslims the right to travel across Nubia as travellers, not as settlers, and enabled them to build a mosque. The treaty also involved other mercantile agreements.

This treaty remained in force for six hundred years until the Fatimid period in Egypt. It was rather a treaty of mutual toleration and a trade agreement than a tribute to an overlord. The treaty also shows that the Muslims had no thought of annexation.[17]

The Kingdom which made peace with the Muslims was Magura, 'Makuira and Nobadia'. The Muslim merchants and travellers were able to carry their activities as far as the Alwa

kingdom and its capital Suba near the present Khartoum.

The Muslims, who had no racial prejudices, began a long process of social and cultural interaction with the Nubians and intermarried with Nubian and other Sudanese tribes. They gradually acquired control and influence. Many Arabs were so absorbed that they could only be described as indigenous Muslims. Many Arab tribes emigrated to Sudan seeking economic and political accommodation. This process led to the consolidation of the position of Islam and the weakening of that of Christianity.

In 1315, Al-Nasir Qaloun, the Governor of Egypt invaded Nubia and replaced its Christian king with a Muslim Nubian king. From that time Nubia was really an independent Muslim state. Muslim immigration became a flood. The Muslims intermarried freely with the indigenous inhabitants, which gave momentum to gradual conversion to Islam.

The other Sudanese Christian kingdom, Suba, operated in the heart of modern Sudan, in the area which extends from Kabashiyya as far south as Sennar. The Christian bishops were appointed by the Patriarch of Alexandria: 'their king enslaves whom he wishes of his subjects, whether they have committed a crime or not.'[18]

With the emergence of an Islamic state in Nubia, Alwa was more or less cut off from outside influence. Though the kingdom survived, its culture was dying. A Portuguese priest who travelled in Abyssinia from 1520 to 1527 has preserved for us a picture of the situation in Suba in this state of transition. He says that the people were neither Christians, Jews nor Muhammadans, but had come to be without faith and without law, but still 'they lived with the desire of being Christians'.

'The Nubians had yielded to the powerful influences that surrounded them.'[19] Muslim scholars who had travelled to Nubia attracted disciples from different parts of Sudan and contributed greatly to the flourishing Sudanese Islamic movement. Such scholars as Hamd Abū Dunāna (1445), who settled in Berber district, Ghulām Allāh b. 'Ā'id, who taught religious sciences in Dongola, and Tājuddīn al-Bahārī, the first to introduce Qadriyya from Baghdad. Tājuddīn lived in Central Sudan for seven years.[20] His teaching converted large

numbers to the Qadriyya organization, which emerged as the most important Islamic organization in Sudan.

The first decade of the sixteenth century witnessed the birth of a united and strong Islamic state, which replaced the dying Christian Suba. Its first historical ruler was 'Amāra Dunqus; his combined Afro-Arab name indicates the nature of the new state as an African-Muslim realm. General conversion to Islam soon followed and this black Muslim sultanate flourished for centuries under two names, Sennar Islamic Kingdom or the Black Muslim Sultanate.

The famous *Jihād* of the Adal Muslim Kingdom under the leadership of Muslim Amirs of Harar, especially that of Imām Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Qur'ān, who nearly succeeded in converting all Abyssinia to Islam, coincided with the emergence of the Sennar Muslim kingdom and the disappearance of Christianity in Sudan.

The emergence of the first unified Sudanese Islamic state also coincided with the great historical Islamic loss of the Andalus – Muslim Spain – or the demolition of the Andalusian civilization and the fall of Granada in 1492. For some Muslim historians, the emergence of the Sennar redressed the balance – losing in Europe, gaining in Africa. However, Sudanese Islam developed in a region geographically remote, historically detached from the general movement of the Islamic civilization.

Some other local Islamic kingdoms emerged in other parts of Sudan, like the Islamic kingdom of Darfur, which extended its frontiers towards what is today the Republic of Chad and Central Africa. The emergence of Sennar led to the spread of Islam in both Central and East Africa. Thousands of African students started an immigration movement to be oriented in Islamic sciences in the Kingdom of Sennar.

The last decades of the Islamic kingdom of Sennar were times of anarchy and internal power struggle. The new secular ruler of Egypt, Muhammad Ali, took advantage of that. The Turko-Egyptian conquest in 1820 brought the whole of the former Sultanate under the rule of Muhammad Ali Pasha.

We may conclude by saying that although Christianity flourished once in Sudan, it was overtaken gradually,

smoothly and peacefully by Islam, and now an average Sudanese would hardly believe that Northern Sudan was once Christian. No Sudanese can call to mind any historical Christian name in the history of the Sudan although he can mention many names from before and after the Christian period.

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CHAPTER TWO

Turko-Egyptian Sudan and the Introduction of European Christianity

It is difficult to find a convenient description for the conquest of 1820–21.[1] It was prepared in Egypt, by its ruler, who emerged as ruler because of the vacuum created by Napoleon's evacuation of Egypt. The unknown Muhammad Ali – who was sent by the Ottomans to Egypt – surprisingly emerged as a leader in the pre-Napoleon power struggle. His regime was welcomed by the European powers who supported the secular-minded Turkish soldiers who came to govern Egypt. From that time on, Egypt was governed by the ruling Turkish-speaking Ottoman elite and their ancestors, who were only nominally bound to the Ottoman Caliphate and Islam.

After consolidating his power in Egypt, Muhammad Ali turned his attention to Sudan. His primary motive in undertaking the invasion was probably political – to destroy the Mamluks. They had been the real masters of Egypt before Napoleon, and fled to Sudan in their struggle against Napoleon and his successor Muhammad Ali. Another factor was Muhammad Ali's ambition to build an Empire and to secure the sources of the Nile. By conquering Sudan he could build a strong army by recruiting Sudanese slaves, and accumulate wealth by exploiting Sudanese gold mines.

The force which invaded Furaj state was composed of four thousand combatants, Albanians, Turks, Maghribis and Bedouin, but no Egyptian Fallahin.

'Three *'Ulamā'* "Muslim jurisprudences" travelled with

the expedition to summon the Sudanese Muslims to obey the agent of the Ottoman Sultan – an American officer, a French observer, two Englishmen, of whom one is a priest, the two Englishmen were ordered to return at Marawi.'[2]

'The first impression which the people of Sennar had of their new ruler was by no means wholly unfavourable. The conquest had been achieved practically without bloodshed. Funj Sultan, Badi VI, came in person to Ismail's camp to make submission'.[3]

After some decades, the country under the name of Sudan, covered an enormous area. Its length from north to south or from Aswan to the Equator, is some 24 degrees, or about 1,650 miles. Its width, from Massowah 'about 40 degrees east' to the western limit of the Darfur province about twenty-two and a half degrees east is from 1,200–1,400 miles.[4]

The new Sudan brought together all the Sudanese Islamic kingdoms – Funj, Darfur, Tagli, the Islamic Kingdom of Raja – 'Bahr al-Ghazal' – plus the land of Sudd – the barrier of fen or the equatorial African land which came to be known as Southern Sudan.

Muhammad Ali's conquest opened modern Sudan to free missionary activities and brought it into contact with modern European civilization for the first time in its history. The Turkish regime was keen to appear in European dress and to preserve European interests. It tended to recruit European personnel in many sensitive jobs in the Islamic Sudan – among them the Englishman Colonel Gordon, who was appointed both as Governor-General of Equatoria in 1874 and Governor-General of all Sudan in 1884–5; Austrian officers, such as Sir Rudolf Kal Von Slatin Pasha, who became governor of Darfur, Sir Edward Schnitzer, known as Emin Pasha, who governed Equatoria, the Germanic Menzinger, Gessi Pasha, and the Englishman Sir S. Baker, who was put in charge of an expedition to the Equator, and the French Avakel, who became Governor-General, and many others, especially in the military field. As for the missionaries, hundreds of them came to explore and to work with the unreached people of Sudan. Several European missionaries died in Sudan in their endeavours to plant European Christianity. All this contributed to a

Europeanized-Christian outlook and this in turn contributed to the crystallization of an Islamic revival under the Mahdi, to defend Islamic culture and religion.

The conquest of Sudan came in the era of 'discoveries', which had begun a little earlier with the famous journey (1770) of James Bruce through Abyssinia and Sennar. The Turkish conquest opened up Sudan further to European explorers and missionaries, who came under different titles and guises. Sudan, as a bridge to Africa and the Nile attracted Stanley and Livingstone, Speke and Gordon, only a few of the many explorers, among them missionaries, who were the first to penetrate to the heart of Africa and plant Christianity among its primitive population.

The non-Arabic-speaking Turkish elite, who were governing Sudan, unaware of the Christian missionary plans and objectives, and because they themselves lacked knowledge of Islam and Islamic culture and history, opened the Sudan to missionary activities. Between 1853 and 1855 Ottoman Turkey started to look upon Britain and other Western powers as friends; many British officers, among them Gordon, were invited by Turkey to take part in her war against Russia in the Crimea. The same pattern of friendship was followed by the Turkish elite who governed Egypt and Sudan. In both cases, the British were able to gain knowledge which they later used to destroy the Ottoman Caliphate and control Egypt and Sudan.

The Catholics as Agents of European Powers in Sudan

'Only in the nineteenth century, through the conquest of Algeria by the French, did the Cross drive back the Crescent on the Barbary Coast, and the work of Cardinal Lavigerie, Archbishop of Algiers (d. 1892) produced most important results.[5] He founded and supported a body of missionaries, known as the "White Fathers" for bringing the Gospel to the tribes of the Sahara, the dark races of the Sudan, and to nations still further south. These missionaries are settled on the shores and islands of the Lakes Victoria, Nyanza and Tanganyika and elsewhere.'[6]

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that an extension of French influence and Roman Catholicism could combine in any area which was outside the influence of any European power.[7] The White Fathers concentrated their efforts in East Africa, in what later came to be the Republic of Uganda.

Before that, the first Catholic missionary to arrive in Sudan, under Turkish protection, was Father Luke Monsori, an Italian Lazarist father. He could not tolerate Christian Abyssinia and had to leave because of persecution. He arrived in Khartoum in July, 1843, where he built a small church and school. While he was in Khartoum, it occurred to him to try to Christianize the Shilluk tribe who had been discovered – according to his saying – on the Upper Nile.[8] His idea was to train some of their youth in Christianity to be able to serve as catechists in their own villages, but he returned to Ethiopia without fulfilling his task, leaving the Church under Father Serrao who later returned to Europe. The mission then closed but opened again in 1848. Khartoum's new Vicar Apostolic – a native of Verona – died in Khartoum and his assistant Don Vinco returned to Europe to seek help. When Pope Gregory XVI instituted the Vicariate Apostolic of Central Africa in 1846, Ignaz Knoblechar (1819–1858) left for the Sudan with thirteen missionaries under the leadership of Fr. Ryilo who died in Khartoum on 17 June, 1848 and Knoblechar was chosen as his successor. Don Vinco joined his new superior on a voyage of exploration up the White Nile as far as Gondokoro and founded a mission, where he eventually died. But he succeeded in sending eight negro youths to Europe for theological training.[9] This enabled the Catholic Church to ordain some Sudanese as priests; one of them – Habashi – died in 1874 in Jerusalem. The main value of these preliminary efforts was to gain information about Sudan and the situation and nature of its unreached people. Knoblechar died in Naples from a heart attack in April 1858. He had journeyed six times in ten years from Khartoum to Europe – a journey that took at least three months. He established large schools in Khartoum.

The early Roman Catholic policies were largely dictated by their desire to reach the lakes region before the Protestants

and to arrest the spread of Islam. Consequently, they sought to exploit the political and economic influence of the other Europeans then residing in Khartoum. This was reflected in the case of Don Angelo Vinco, who entered the service of a British firm so as to provide it with ivory. Monsignor L.G. Messai, in a letter to a French diplomat, said that the 'Roman Catholic missionaries . . . are inevitably fated to play a great part on the White Nile to the advantage of the protecting power, and it will be in the interests of the whole of Europe because . . . Our mission is called upon to acquire the commerce of Africa permanently for Europe.'[10]

The Propaganda appointed Fr. Kirchner in 1859 as Pro-Vicar but he resigned on 7 September, 1861 without achieving anything – not a single convert after twelve years of activity.

Although in 1848 the Austrian protectorate was extended to the Mission of the Sudan and Nigritia which was in the care of Austrian priests, whenever the missionaries sought protection, other than that of France, French diplomacy complained to Rome, and was always ready to reprimand the missionaries and to remind them that protection appertained to the French alone.[11]

The Coming of Comboni[12] – the Father of Catholicism in Modern Sudan

In 1857 the Mazza Institute in Verona, in an endeavour to continue missionary efforts, sponsored and organized a mission to Sudan via the Nile. The mission consisted of five priests one of whom was Daniel Comboni. They penetrated Sudan along the Nile, about 1,000 miles to the south of Khartoum, where they erected a Christian station. Although two of his companions died there, Comboni took an oath, 'I will never give up, Africa or death.'

Comboni was an activist, a believer in direct interaction with the animist community, a scholar who compiled a dictionary of the Nubian language and published studies on the Dinka and Bari language. His reports and correspondence provide much information on the history of African civilization.[13]

Comboni described the Shilluk, one of the indigenous

tribes he encountered, as a savage tribe. The missionaries found it very difficult to make friends with the natives, who hated the white men whom they had experienced only as slave traders.[14]

With the return of the Mazza expedition to Rome, the Holy See decided that the Mission of Central Africa should be entrusted to a religious order. Father Johannes de Duble Reinthaler became the new Pro-Vicar in 1861. Two expeditions consisting of fifty-two persons were sent to Sudan, of whom twenty-two died there from disease or hardship in just a few months. Reinthaler died in 1862 at Berber. The net result of the first fifteen years of Central African Mission was forty-two casualties.

In response to this situation, Comboni emerged with a new strategy: 'Since it is next to impossible for white missionaries to live and work in the interior of Africa, let us set up institutions along the coasts where African young men and women can be instructed in the Faith, educated and civilized without being Europeanized. These will then be sent back to their tribes, in the interior as trained artisans, teachers and catechists. Higher education will be provided for the more highly qualified men who are to be leaders of their countries . . . and Africa will one day have its own priests and bishops.'[15]

In 1867, Comboni with a small group of missionaries again set out for Sudan. Henceforth Comboni's life was centred on Khartoum. In the next few years, six missions were established in Northern Sudan and two beautiful Christian churches opened in Khartoum and El Obeid. While Comboni was in Sudan, he succeeded in gaining the co-operation of the Turkish civil authorities and European protection, especially from France and Austria.[16]

Gordon, the Egyptian government's representative in Sudan, sponsored one of Comboni's expeditions to Southern Sudan, the cost being charged to the Sudan government.

For Comboni, it seems, science, industry and philanthropy had to unite to solve the problem of civilizing Central Africa and converting it to Christianity.[17] The missionaries from Europe should study Arabic, the African language and other languages necessary for the mission, plus the customs of

peoples especially of the East and of the Muslims, plus a little medicine. The Holy See looked upon Comboni's effort as a part of the Algerian missionaries' project, to counter the Anglican Protestants and paralyse their effort in Equatorial Africa. On 21 May, 1872, Comboni was made Pro-Vicar Apostolic for Central Africa. Between 1872 and 1876, seventeen missionaries went to the Sudan after acclimatization for one year in Egypt. All of them remained in good health.

Comboni was able to put one of his ideas into practice by creating the Christian village of Malbes in Kordofan, which aimed at forming flourishing Christian communities in a Muslim area, by training young African boys and girls, for whom he had set aside 'homes which are a day and half's journey away from Kordofan, so that they might not come into contact with Muslims and lose their faith.'[18] 'This group will eventually become a village, a town, a city, inhabited only by Catholics under the direction of the missionaries and sisters – wherever there is Muslim predominance this system will be used . . . As for Islam, all the obstacles that Islam puts in the way of the conversion of its followers will fall. The power of evil will no longer maintain its hold over Africa . . . especially in those areas which have not been corrupted by Islam . . . I solemnly baptised fourteen non-believers, some pagan, some Muslims. The most joyful of them all was a young Muslim girl of fourteen, the daughter of the wife of the former commandant-general of the troops of Kordofan and Darfur. After five continuous years of begging the permission of her Moslem mother for her to receive baptism, this was granted by the illiterate mother, and was done publicly through the Austro-Hungarian Consul.[19] The only thing that matters to me, I say, is that Africa should be converted.'

But the project of Sudan's Christianization suddenly came to a stop with the outbreak of the Islamic Revolution of Muḥammad Aḥmad the Mahdī of the Sudan, which was followed by Comboni's death in Khartoum. However, Comboni laid the foundation of the modern Catholic movement and introduced the first Dinka Catholic priest, Deng Surur (d. 1899), who worked in Suakin from 1881 to 1891 and

died in Cairo. Nowadays there are many institutions and missions carrying the name of Comboni in both the Central African Republic and Sudan.

The Endeavour to Introduce a Non-Catholic Brand of Christianity to Sudan

In 1838, a mission of the Church Missionary Society was expelled from Ethiopia, through the influence of two French Roman Catholic priests upon the Prince of Tyjni. Later that year, Johann Ludwig Krapf, one of those expelled, established and directed 'Pilgrim Mission' which was intended to form a 'chain of missions' through Africa, with twelve stations, including Egypt, Nubia and Abyssinia.[20]

In 1857, David Livingstone, addressing Cambridge and Oxford, charged his audiences, 'Do you carry out the work which I have begun. I leave with you.'[21] He was referring to the discoveries which he had made at the lower base of the Nile, and to his dream concerning introducing Christianity there. Though committees were formed in Cambridge, Oxford and Durham, no professional mission was sent to Sudan, although some missionaries did visit the country – like Charles William Pearson, the British missionary who visited Suakin, Berber and Khartoum in 1878 with R.W. Felkin and Glitch Field. One feature of this period was the increasing share of the United States in the worldwide spread of Protestant Christianity, some American missionaries travelling to Sudan.

The role of introducing Anglican Christianity was carried out in Sudan by explorers and the Christian representatives of the Egyptian government, famous among whom was General Gordon.[22] Gordon was a peculiar Christian, whose mind sometimes seemed to be paralysed by his conflicting loyalties. His loyalty to his culture and Church implied the promotion of Christianity and Christian interests in a Muslim land in contrast to his position as the representative of a Muslim ruler.

Gordon, writing to his sister from Ragdjaf on the Upper Nile in 1874, says: 'I have made them make a mosque and keep their Ramadan, which they never paid attention to

before I came.' And three years later he wrote from Dava: 'When the Egyptians seized the country, they took the mosque here for a powder-magazine. I had it cleared out and restored for worship . . . They blessed me and cursed Sebehr Pasha who took the mosque from them. To me it appears that the Musulman worships God as well as I do, and is as acceptable, if sincere, as any Christians.'[23]

The European explorers and officials were themselves attracted by Islam. Bosworth Smith says: 'Christian travellers, with every wish to think otherwise, have remarked that the Negro who accepts Mohammadanism is not commonly found among those who have been brought to accept Christianity . . . The Muslim convert is God-fearing, self-respecting, temperate, courageous.'[24]

Sir Harry Johnston says: 'Islam has come to Negro Africa as a great blessing, raising up savages to a state, at any rate, of semi-civilization, making them God-fearing, self-respecting and picturesque.'

It is said that General Gordon had the idea of utilizing the Muslim power, with Khartoum as a centre, for carrying on the work of civilizing the millions of equatorial Africa. He believed that Muslims possessed enough truth for this regenerating work. In his journal, on 12 September, 1884 he wrote: 'I am sure it is unknown to the generality of our missionaries in Muslim countries, that, in the Koran, no imputation of sins is made to our Lord; neither is it hinted that He had need of pardon, and further, no Muslim can deny that the Father of our Lord was God, and that he was incarnated by a miracle. Our Bishops content themselves with its being a false religion, but it is a false religion possessed by millions of our fellow creatures . . . The God of the Muslims is our God.'[25]

In other ways, Gordon worked to activate the Christian missions and to exert pressure on important African tribal leaders to adopt Christianity. Mutessa, the Buganda ruler, was a Muslim but Gordon and Henry Stanley advised him to accept Christianity for worldly things. Stanley's advice to the mission was: 'You need not fear to spend money upon such a mission, as Mutessa is sole ruler, and it will repay its cost tenfold with ivory, coffee, skins.'[26]

Gordon co-operated with Comboni in his endeavour to plant Christianity in the equatorial regions and invited the Church Missionary Society to evangelize the Sudan in 1878. But all these efforts were fruitless. The equatorial regions of Africa, said Stanley, 'have for ages defied Islamism, Christianity, science and trade, like the waves beating on a rocky shore . . . Christianity has also made ineffectual attempts for the last three centuries, to obtain a footing in the same region, but ignorance of the climate caused its retirement.'[27]

However, all these preparatory efforts came to a standstill with the outbreak of the Islamic Mahdiyya Revolution in the 1880s.

The Mahdiyya Encounter and the Eclipse of Christianity, 1880–1898

For most Sudanese, the Mahdiyya was a reformative Islamic movement, with both a national and international programme and outlook. One of its aims was to get rid of the ruling secular Egyptian-Turkish elite and their Christian representatives and to replace them with a revolutionary Islamic state, which would be a gathering point for all true Muslims, who were ready to co-operate in *Jihād* and the building of a new world Muslim state, free from the evils of corruption and secularism.

However, the Mahdiyya under international pressure and internal disputes was forced to reverse its international programme, and to concentrate on the major challenges, which were threatening all its achievements. Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Mahdī, the charismatic leader of Mahdiyya was renowned for his devotion, sincerity and straightforwardness. The Al-Mahdī never betrayed or deceived anyone. When the Mahdī and his companions spoke of mis-government and purification, they were thinking in theological and political terms.

The Mahdiyya was basically a liberation theology, to liberate a persecuted nation, and necessary because of the failure and impotence of Muslim scholars, and the failure of Christian missions to denounce the corruption and crimes of

the secular Turkish elite and their Christian co-partners like Gordon and his aides.

The enmity of the Christian Church to the Mahdiyya programme is no surprise. The question of the Church as a counterpart of colonialism is a controversial and complicated issue, but even today racism is frequent in the Christian and post-Christian societies of the modern West. Still one or two Christian bodies attempt to defend certain racist policies on Christian grounds.[28] The enmity of the Christian Church to the Sudanese Islamic National Movement was similar to its behaviour against the Mau-Mau in Kenya or the recent stand of the Dutch Reform Church which used to provide the theological basis for the practice of apartheid. Its General Synod Missionary Commission regarded Islam as a false religion and a great threat to Christianity.[29] Or like that of the Catholic Church via the African National Congress and its failure to bless the Congress struggle against apartheid. The general attitude is encapsulated in the comment by General Allenby when he captured Muslim Jerusalem in 1917 that 'the Crusades have come to an end'.

The rule of the secular Turko-Egyptians in the Sudan during its last two years was dominated by British policy towards Egypt.[30] The conditions of the Sudan in the 1870s became intolerably oppressive and were ripe for revolt. The Mahdiyya was not only morally justified but politically necessary. On 26 January, 1885, Khartoum was conquered – and most of the Sudan was liberated. At the very moment of the birth of the new state, General Gordon was killed as the last symbol of the alien, brutal regime.

The Mahdiyya – a Christian Perspective

The Christian Church takes another view. J.K. Giffin[31] and W.W. Cash, believed that the period prior to 1899 was marked by catastrophe and bloodshed and that the reconquest was in fact the redemption of the Sudanese people.[32] But Christian encyclopaedias refer to it as an evil incident or an insurrection, and to its leader as a pretender.

Gladstone – the British leader – expressed before the Gordon mission the view that the Sudanese were rightly

struggling to be free; against them, therefore, military operations would be morally unjustifiable. But the voice of reason lost momentum in the face of the image of the Mahdiyya created by the zealous Church propaganda. The British were shocked by the murder of Gordon; the English Church raised Gordon virtually to the status of a Christian saint who had been killed by barbarians.

Most of the European Christian literature after Gordon's death focused on European interests and strategies seeking to plant secularism, nationalism and Christianity in Sudan. Sudan should be a vehicle to enable Christian missions to make Christian witness to Africa and block the spread of Islam to Africa by creating a buffer zone in Southern Sudan to hinder the natural interaction between Islam and paganism through daily contact between Muslims and pagans.

One famous piece of Christian literature about the Mahdiyya is the Catholic Father Ohrwalder's book *Ten Years Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp 1882–1892.*[33] He was a priest of the Austrian mission station at Diling, in Kordofan in West Sudan. Father Ohrwalder's manuscript was written in German, and roughly translated into English by Yūsuf Effendi – a Syrian, and Major F.R. Wingate, into narrative form which accurately reproduced Ohrwalder's meaning.

The Catholic priest described the Sudanese Muslim heroes as 'Malcontents, runaway slaves, criminal and religious fanatics . . . perhaps the bulk of his adherents were men who lived by theft and robbery and who were the main supporters of the movement . . . but it is to the slave-dealers that Muhammad Ahmad appeared in the light of a saviour and it was to them that he owed his subsequent success.'[34]

The ridiculous falsity of this statement is self-evident: How could the Mahdiyya attract both the slaves and their masters the slave-dealers? How and why should they come to gather under one flag? Had the Mahdī himself ever been a slave-dealer? Had any of his four well-known supporters – caliphates – engaged in such activity?

Actually it was Gordon who tried to counter-attack the Mahdiyya by trying to appoint the controversial slave-dealer, known in European literature as Zubayr Pasha, to succeed him.[35] And it was Gordon who restored the institution of

slavery after his appointment in 1884, when he declared that no immediate emancipation of slaves would be attempted.[36]

The Catholic priest who tried to undervalue the worthiness of the Mahdiyya, by describing its supporters as runaway slaves, should be ashamed! What is wrong with a runaway slave fighting for the noble aim of liberty for himself and his nation! And he should be ashamed that his Catholic mission itself had its slaves, whom he called 'our blacks'.[37]

Was it wrong for the Mahdī to focus on popular discontent? All Sudanese of that period were potential Mahdīs as all Egyptians at that time were potential 'Arabis. The cause of the rising in Sudan is the cause of the popular risings against alien oppressive rule, whenever they have occurred: the secular Turkish-speaking elite, with direct European participation and backing, had plundered and oppressed the people in Sudan, as they had in the Balkans. It is to the lasting shame of the Church to have been a mere puppet of such alien rule.

The Christian missions always talk about peace, but the Catholic mission in Sudan acted as a tool to foreigners by providing arms to resist the Mahdiyya. 'We gave the Nuba seventy rifles from the mission, and they then prepared an ambush for the unsuspecting Arabs . . .'[38]

Father Ohrwalder describes the devout Mahdī like this: 'The Mahdī now gave himself up to a life of ease and luxury, in which unfortunate women captured in Khartoum played a prominent part . . . surrounded himself with every sort of comfort and luxury, appreciating to the utmost the very pleasures which he declaimed so violently . . . the courtyard of his harem was full of women from little Turkish girls of eight years old to the pitch black Dinka negress or copper-coloured Abyssinian . . . On Ramaḍān, the Mahdī reclining on a magnificent carpet, upwards of thirty women stand around him, some fan him with great ostrich feathers, others gently rub his feet, without in any way disturbing his slumber, besides others who gently smooth his hands, and Aisha lies with him covering his head and neck with loving embraces – while the eunuchs tell the impatient crowd that the Mahdī is at present in deep contemplation – thus did the Mahdī enjoy the sweets of victory indoors, while outside he practised

the most abominable hypocrisy . . . It was the Mahdī's debauched and dissolute mode of life which caused his early death.'[39]

This quite ridiculous European stereotype is not even remotely connected with the reality of the Mahdī – it is untrue, a mere fantasy, shamelessly and transparently motivated by the need for propaganda. Many books were published to this end – Slatin Pasha, *Fire and Sword,* Wingate, *Mahdism and the Egyptian Sudan* and Cromer, *Modern Egypt,* etc.

This sort of propaganda literature contributed substantially towards mobilizing British and Christian opinion for a crusade against the Sudan. 'How long shall Europe – and above all that nation which has first part in Egypt and the Sudan, which stands deservedly first in civilizing savage races, how long shall Europe and Great Britain watch unmoved the outrages of the Khalīfa and the destruction of Sudan's people?'[40] The Crusades took place in the 1890s, when the European powers put the last touches to their preparations for conquering the Sudan Muslim state. First, the Italians from their base at Eritrea captured the eastern part of Sudan in the early nineties. The Belgians took the Lado enclave of Sudan in Southern Sudan while moving towards Bahr al-Ghazal and the Upper Nile in 1894. The French, under the command of Captain Marchand started to penetrate from Chad and Central Africa to Sudan's Bahr al-Ghazal. But the final job was done by the reconquest expedition under the command of Sir Herbert Kitchener which invaded Khartoum on 2 September, 1898. The Mahdiyya collapsed. Hundreds of thousands of people were killed by the Anglo-Egyptian reconquest expedition. 'The Dervish leaders showed no tactical skill. They relied solely on the courage and devotion of their followers who, ignorant of the fearful powers of destruction which science had placed in the hands of the European, dashed recklessly against the ranks of the Anglo-Egyptian army, and were swept away in thousands by the deadly fire of the rifles and the Maxims.'[41] 'The honour of the fight' said a competent eye-witness,[42] 'must still go with the men who died. Our men were perfect, but the Dervishes were superb – beyond perfection. Their

riflemen, mangled by every kind of death and torment that men can devise, clung round the black flag and the green, emptying their poor rotten home-made cartridges dauntlessly. Their spearmen charged death at every minute hopelessly . . . A dusky line got up and stormed forward; it bent, broke up, fell apart and disappeared. Before the smoke cleared, another line was bending and storming forward in the same track.' Kitchener proceeded from the battlefield to the Mahdī's tomb, where he desecrated it, cut off the Mahdī's head, sent it in a kerosene-can to Queen Victoria as a trophy and threw the rest of the Mahdī's body into the Nile.'[43]

A new land and a new era lay open for Christianity – Church and Mission – under the mighty power of iron and fire. In 1899 the first Christian service was started at Omdurman in the same mud quarters which formerly belonged to the Mahdī's *Khalīfa,* and was then used by the British officers as a club.[44]

Lord Cromer, in 1900, asked Bishop Gwynne to open a fund to build an Anglican church in Khartoum. It was done according to Wingate's policy who knew they would do their duty, both as churchmen and as government officials, if the functions of Church and administration were not too closely linked. So as to produce a generous response, its foundation was laid on 7 February, 1904 by Queen Victoria's daughter, Princess Beatrice.[45] To fire the imagination of the British public the appeal was made to build a Cathedral in memory of General Gordon.

Notes and References

1. P.M. Holt and M.W. Daly, *The History of the Sudan: From the Coming of Islam to the Present Day,* Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1979, p. 48.
2. Ibid.,
3. Ibid., pp. 52–3.
4. F.R. Wingate, *Mahdism and the Egyptian Sudan,* Frank Cass, London, 1968, p. 529.
5. William E. Addis, et al., *A Catholic Dictionary,* Virtue & Co., London, 1955, p. 14.

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7. Stephen Neil, *A History of Christian Mission,* Penguin Books, London, 1977, p. 431.

8. Ibid., p. 570.

9. James Dempsey, *Mission on the Nile,* Burns & Oates, London, 1955, p. 99.

10. Daud al-Jamal Abdulillah, *A Social History of the Christian Church in Northern Sudan 1820–1956,* Department of History, Faculty of Arts, University of Khartoum, 1985, p. 17.

11. *The Catholic Encyclopaedia,* XII, New York, 1914, p. 4918.

12. Daniel Comboni was born in Italy in 1831, died in Khartoum 10 October, 1881, studied at Mazza Institute in Verona. First went to Sudan in 1857, returned to Italy in 1859. In 1864 he vowed to dedicate his life to the plantation of Christianity in Central Africa – Sudan. He achieved some success in mobilizing Europe, and its leaders, for this task. He met Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, the Empress Eugene, the Czar of Russia, Leopold of the Belgians and many others, princes, rulers, etc. In 1867 Comboni opened a college for African mission in Cairo.

13. *New Catholic Encyclopaedia,* Vol. 4, London, 1967, p. 1.

14. I have based my information about Comboni mainly on Aldo Gill, *Daniel Comboni, The Man and His Message, A Selection from the writings of Bishop Daniel Comboni (1831–1881).* Editrice Missionaria Italiana, Bologna, 1980.

15. Ibid., pp. 7–8.

16. Ibid., p. 147.

17. Ibid., p. 149.

18. Ibid., p. 158.

19. Ibid., p. 160.

20. Montague Fowler, *Christian Egypt,* London, 1901, p. 180.

21. Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity, 1800–1914.* Harper & Row, New York, 1978, p. 100.

22. Charles Gordon was born January 1833 at Woolwich. He graduated as a 2nd Lieutenant in 1852; in 1860 he went to China, where he destroyed the Taipings revolution, under its Islamic leader. In 1874 he went to Sudan where he spent five and a half years. In 1885 he became Sudan's Governor-General. Lord Salisbury called Gordon 'a Christian Hero'. Gordon said of his fellow Christians: 'I am sick of your burnt offerings and your prayer meetings. My soul hateth them, they are a trouble to me. I am weary of them. I like the Musulman, he is not ashamed of his God, his life is a fairly pure one.' He spent some time in Palestine where

he wrote 'Reflections in Palestine'. Gordon was invited by the British government to go to Sudan, because, as Gordon put it in the *Pall Mall Gazette*: 'If nothing is done, it is possible that the whole Eastern question may be opened by the triumph of the Mahdi's attack.' See *Pictorial Records of the English in Egypt,* (London) with a full description of the life of General Gordon.

23. 'Government and Islam in Africa', report of World Missionary Conference in the *Muslim World Review,* Vol. VII, 1921, p. 6.

24. Ibid., p. 20.

25. Edward W. Blyden, *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race,* W.B. Whittingham, London, 1888, pp. 332–3.

26. Gailyn Van Rheem, *Church Planting in Uganda,* William Carey Library, South Pasadena, 1976, p. 17.

27. Blyden, op. cit., p. 345.

28. W. Montgomery Watt, 'Thoughts on Muslim-Christian Dialogue', *Hamdard Islamicus,* Karachi, Vol. 1, No. 1, Summer 1978, p. 14.

29. *The Dutch Reform Church Report on Islam and Muslims in Africa and the Impact of Islam in South Africa,* translated and published by Muslim Youth Movement of South Africa, p. 8.

30. Holt and Daly, op. cit., p. 91.

31. He was the leader of the American United Presbyterian team which entered Sudan in 1900 after the reconquest.

32. Abdulillah, op. cit., p. 6.

33. F.R. Wingate, *Ten Years' Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp, 1882–92.* From the original manuscript of Father Joseph Ohrwalder. 2nd Edition. London, 1892. Father Ohrwalder died in Sudan 7 August, 1913.

34. Ibid., p. 8.

35. Holt and Daly, op. cit., p. 94.

36. *Pictorial Records of the English in Egypt,* op. cit., pp. 250–6.

37. Wingate, *Ten Years' Captivity . . . ,* op. cit., p. 31.

38. Ibid., p. 26.

39. Ibid., pp. 155, 157, 160.

40. Ibid., p. 450.

41. Cromer, *Modern Egypt,* Vol. 2, Macmillan, London, 1908, p. 104.

42. Mr. Stevens, *Daily Mail*'s correspondent, quoted in ibid., p. 104.

43. Philip Magnus, *Kitchener: Portrait of an Imperialist,* John Murray, London, 1958, pp. 133–6.

44. A. Morris Gelsthorpe, *Introducing the Diocese of Sudan,* McCorquodale & Co., London, 1946, p. 7.

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CHAPTER THREE

A New Christian Approach Within a Reformed Islam, 1900–1956

The reconquest was effected by British money, British troops and Egyptian troops officered and trained by the British. Lord Cromer wrote to the British Secretary of State: 'For political and financial reasons we do not wish to annex. On the other hand, the recognition of Sudan as a portion of the Ottoman dominion would perpetuate all the international difficulties.'[1] A compromise was obtained in the Anglo-Egyptian agreement of November 1899 which put Sudan under a partnership administration which came to be known as the Condominium. Kitchener was appointed Governor-General of Sudan, succeeded in 1900 by his assistant Wingate as Governor-General until the beginning of 1917, when he succeeded Sir Henry McMahon as High Commissioner in Egypt.

As we have seen, with the rise of the Mahdiyya all the activities of the Christian mission came to a standstill; these activities were centred mainly in Catholic stations in Khartoum, Diling, El Obeid and Melbis.

The death of Gordon, greatly venerated in evangelical circles in England, stimulated the Christian Missionary Society (CMS) to prepare for the time when the Sudan should again be open, and £3,000 was sent spontaneously to open a fund for a Gordon Memorial Mission. Some missionaries were sent to Suakin as early as 1890.

The Condominium authority in its efforts to deal with the mission's activities, was not motivated by its wishes, but by compelling political and security factors. In a country where three and a quarter million had been killed, either in

engagements with the British and Egyptian troops or in inter-tribal wars,[2] Sudan was emerging from a religious-political revolution, motivated by the plea of protecting the Islamic religion and its adherents from the evils of infidels, mission, and the secular-corrupted elite. It would have been unwise to give any indication that the authority favoured any Christian activity, especially at a time when a fresh war had started in Somalia, between the Western powers and the Mullah (the poor man of God) Islamic Movement, a Somali response mainly to Christianization activities.

The policies of the Condominium Rule, which were put into practice, were similar to those in Egypt. On the question of introducing European civilization into Egypt, Cromer said: 'It should never be forgotten that Islam cannot be reformed; that is to say, reformed Islam is Islam no longer; it is something else; we cannot as yet tell what it will eventually be.'[3] ' . . . The truth is that, in passing through the European educational mill, the young Egyptian Moslem loses his Islamism, or, at all events, he loses the best part of it. He no longer believes that he is always in the presence of his Creator, to whom he will some day have to render an account of his actions. He may still, however, take advantage of the least worthy portions of his nominal religion, those positions, namely, which, insofar as they tolerate a lax moral code, adapt themselves to his taste and to his convenience in the affairs of this world.'[4] ' . . . European civilization destroys one religion without substituting another in its place. It remains to be seen whether the code of Christian morality, on which European civilization is based, can be dissociated from the teaching of the Christian religion.'[5]

The Sudan authorities encouraged reformed Islam in the North, by introducing Western education – Gordon's Memorial College – Western Penal Codes, and Western Code of 'morality'. They encouraged that type of Sufism in which there is no possibility of revolution. 'Any danger from religious fanaticism may be mitigated, and perhaps altogether averted, by imposing some reasonable and salutary checks on the freedom of action of missionary bodies.'[6]

A reformed Islam is only a frame to be filled with exotic secular ideas and forms. For Cromer, 'a revival of Islam,

that is to say, the Islam of the Koran and the Traditions, is nothing but the dream of poetic natures, whose imaginations are carried away by the attractions which hover round some incidents of his faith . . . merely observing that both the religion and social system of Buddhism, and, I believe of Shintoism, present greater possibilities for the assimilation of exotic secular ideas and forms of government than any which can be claimed for rigid Islamism . . . Looking then solely to the possibility of reforming those countries which have adopted the faith of Islam, it may be asked whether anyone can conceive the existence of true European civilization on the assumption that the position which women occupy in Europe is abstracted from the general plan? . . . The position of women in Egypt and in Mohammadan countries generally is, therefore, a fatal obstacle to the attainment of that elevation of thought and character, which should accompany the introduction of European civilization, if that civilization is to produce its full measure of beneficial effect . . . The obvious remedy would appear to be to educate the women.'[7]

Education, as a tool of change, modernization and a tool to attain a reformed Islam, was the responsibility of both the government and the Christian mission, though there was to be no direct proselytization in Northern Sudan.

Two outstanding changes were to be the harvest of the colonial cultural policies; one the secularizing of cultural and political life and thought among the new Sudanese generation, the other, the localization or the tendency toward the localization of thought and interest within the limits of national geographical boundaries. As Zwemer said, the old horizon of political thought was co-extensive with the pan-Islamic because real Islam transcends local geographical boundaries. Thus, when the time came, secular nationalism would grow out of this localization of thought and interest.

The Sudan Governor-General summed up his policies toward Islam – Reformed Islam – in a speech delivered to the *'Ulamā'* in 1914: 'God is my witness that we have never interfered with any man in the exercise of his religion. We have brought the Holy Places within a few days' journey of Khartoum. We have subsidized and assisted the men of

religion. We have built and given assistance for the building of new mosques all over the country.'[8]

The Condominium Attitude Towards Mission

Although one of the Sudan government administrative regulations reads: 'No mission station may be formed north of the 10th parallel of North Latitude in any part of the Sudan which is recognized by the Government as Moslem.[9] It was originally imposed for fear of outbreaks of fanaticism in the interest of law and order,' the Christian authorities did allow the mission to build churches in different parts of Northern Sudan and many mission-stations were opened in the Nuba Mountains. No restrictions were placed on the importation or sale of the Bible and other Christian literature. Christian schools were allowed in the towns for both girls and boys. There were no restrictions on evangelistic work in Christian churches, private houses, schools or hospitals. Islam does not recognize conversion from Islam, but the government media officially did give such recognition.[10]

The official policy had two faces or a double-edged policy explained by Lord Cromer, the greatest of Egyptian proconsuls, in this account of the ideal administrator: 'He will find that he has not, as in India, to deal with a body of Moslems, numerically strong, but whose power of cohesion is enfeebled from their being scattered broadcast among a population five times as numerous as themselves, who hold another and more tolerant creed. He will have to deal with a smaller but more compact body of Moslems, who are more subject to the influence of their spiritual leaders than their co-religionists in India. He will do his best under the circumstances. He will scrupulously abstain from interference in religious matters. He will be eager to explain that proselytism forms no part of his political programme. He will scrupulously respect all Moslem observances. He will generally, amidst some twinges of his Sabbatarian conscience, observe Friday as a holiday and perform the work of the Egyptian Government on Sunday.'[11]

As for Southern Sudan, a different type of policy was

adopted – missionaries were encouraged to go there. The South was divided officially into spheres of influence between different Christian missions, giving realization to J. Krapf's plan of a chain of mission stations from the Cape to Cairo.[12]

The beginning of modern missionary enterprise in Condominium Sudan is linked to the name of Rev. Llewellyn H. Gwynne.[13] Gwynne came to Sudan full of enthusiasm and zealous to start a project to Christianize Sudan, raising the motto that 'the standard of Christ once raised in all this great region has been thrown down. It must be planted here again. We are only reclaiming what once belonged to him and belongs to him still. Never must the Christian Church rest until she has retaken her own possessions.'[14]

Before the coming of Gwynne, on 25 September 1900, Egypt and Sudan had been considered a part of the See of the Church of England in Jerusalem and the East, but after his coming they were considered a separate independent diocese.

On this occasion, the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote to Lord Cromer saying: 'I know that very little can at present be done in the Sudan, and though the Sudan is included in the new diocese, the Bishop ought not to exercise his functions there until the Government shall have pronounced it permissible. But there will be no difficulty in arranging this.'[15] Lord Cromer denoted a plot of land close to the governmental residence, Sudan's palace, in the very centre of the town, which came to be known as the Gordon Memorial Cathedral.

Gwynne found himself in disagreement with Wingate on two issues: full liberty for missionary work in Northern Sudan and observance of the day of rest on the Muslim Friday instead of a Sunday. Also he was annoyed by the fact that the Gospel was not taught in Gordon Memorial College which had been built by Christian donations.

Between 1900 and 1902, Gwynne was in direct contact with Lord Cromer and Wingate, to persuade them to give permission for proselytization. They permitted medical work to start. Dr. Harper, who arrived with Gwynne, started the medical work and was later replaced by Dr. Hall and his wife.

In January, 1902, at the time of Lord Cromer's visit to

Sudan, Wingate summoned Gwynne and told him that he would be allowed to open schools in Khartoum on behalf of the CMS and Wingate commented: 'This is a very great concession on the part of Lord Cromer.'[16]

Gwynne found it hard to express his feelings of gratitude: 'Tears welled up in my eyes, as I realized what this good news meant . . . no less than the opening of the Sudan to missionary work.'[17] For Gwynne, proselytization and teaching were one and the same – there was no difference between allowing him to teach and permitting him to proselytize.

Gwynne opened his first little school for Coptic girls in 1902, with himself the only teacher. In the same year, he built a boys' school with a £250 gift from the Church of England. The CMS under Gwynne opened schools for girls in Omdurman, Atbara and in 1908 the CMS opened one in Wad Medani, and in 1913 at Abu Rouf in Omdurman. The colonial authority encouraged the CMS educational programme. A Sudanese Muslim scholar emerged as a challenge to Gwynne in girls' education, but the authority was reluctant to give him permission. He was Shaikh Bābikar Badrī, one of the Mahdī's companions. In 1904 Badrī approached the department of education for permission to build a girls' school at Rufa'a, but his request was refused. It was not until 1911 that he was finally given permission. Badrī started his Qur'ān school for girls on the Blue Nile. In 1912, a citizen of Wad Medani agreed to a Qur'ān school for girls. Muslim schools were deliberately delayed in order to give the missionary bodies time to lay the foundation of their own system.[18]

The CMS Approach Towards Other Churches and Missions

The policy of the Anglican Church has been, and is, to endeavour to win over the Muslims to the Christian faith, and at the same time, to build up and strengthen the native Coptic Church, even though it was regarded by the Anglicans as an heretical sect.[19] And to co-operate with all the different churches and different Christian communities to bear Christian witness in the Sudan.

The Association for the Furtherance of Christianity in

Egypt was formed in London in 1882. Three years later the Association founded the Egyptian Gordon College. After the conquest of Sudan, the Association donated £250 towards the erection of Coptic schools in Khartoum, or as it was reported on 26 June, 1900: 'The Anglican Church would gain the everlasting gratitude of the Copts, and would prepare the way for the exercise of a wider sphere of influence in the future, if the grant of £250 were made towards the rebuilding of the Coptic Church and schools at Khartoum . . . In response to the earnest request of his holiness the Patriarch Bishop of Khartoum. I am supported by the unanimous opinion of Lord Cromer, and Sir Francis Wingate.'[20]

Gwynne tried his best to prompt the spirit of unity between different Christian sects in Sudan. That was expressed in the different Christian groups' joint venture, to take the name of 'Unity High School' – which was built up from Gwynne's Coptic kindergarten – so as to strengthen the bond of Christian fellowship between the Anglican Communion and the Eastern Churches, Armenian Orthodox, Coptic Orthodox, Ethiopian Orthodox, Greek Orthodox. The Unity had an average of 130 girls, its staff were 4 British, one Armenian, one Greek, 3 Egyptians. The main subjects were English, English Literature, scripture, history, geography, drawing and singing. Girls who wished to continue their studying went on to Gordon Memorial College. In 1945, the Unity had four trustees; they were the Anglican Bishop and members representing the British, Armenian, Coptic and Greek communities.

The CMS concentrated on the girls' education while the American Presbyterian Mission concentrated on the boys'. By 1912 the CMS had three centres for educational work for girls – in Omdurman (1905), Atbara (1908) and Wad Medani. Each centre had a number of elementary schools and kindergartens, plus one intermediate and one secondary department.

The majority of students in these centres were Muslim, but alongside them were Christian Copts, Syrians, Armenians and others. All were taught the Bible.[21]

Apart from normal instruction, the children were taught

needlework, household crafts and an attempt was made to give them wider interests. Girls who wished to become teachers had a further year of teacher-training after they had taken their secondary certificates. The total number of girls in the various schools in 1941 was 1,205.[22] One of the important purposes of Christian schools was that through them the missionaries sought to reach and influence the home-life of the children by visiting after school hours. Other out-of-school activities, especially among older girls – future mothers – were arranged.[23]

Gwynne, as part of his programme to unite the Christian community started an annual unity service, held in Khartoum Anglican Cathedral for all the different Christian groups. This mood of co-operation was developed and one of its products was the birth of the Council of Churches in the Sudan which set its goals as:

1. To unite for common action against moral evils.
2. To unite for upholding Christian usages and principles which are of Christian heritage, such as (a) the keeping of Sunday as a day of worship and rest; (b) freedom for witnessing for our faith insofar as it does not interfere with public order.
3. To unite in establishing institutions for the better education and welfare of Christian children such as the Unity High School for Girls and the Unity High School for Boys at Wad Medani.

The following groups were represented by their leaders on the council:

1. Church of England
2. Greek Orthodox Church
3. Coptic Orthodox Church
4. Armenian Orthodox Church
5. Syrian Orthodox Church
6. Evangelical Church of Egypt
7. American Presbyterian Church
8. Royal Army Chaplains Department.[24]

More churches were admitted to the Council later and it

had its co-ordination committee with the Catholic Church and played a big role in the life of Sudan, especially in cultural and political fields.

A counterpart of the Sudan Council of Churches was the Inter-Mission Council, which put its efforts into a joint missionary venture in Southern Sudan, so as to weaken Islamic interaction there and to give momentum to the implantation and spread of Western Christianity in the South. The mission's members are Gordon Memorial Sudan Mission (GMSM), CMS, American Presbyterian Mission (APM) and Sudan United Mission (SUM). The last mission was brought into being by Gwynne in 1912, its missionaries were mainly from New Zealand and Australia.

Gwynne, unlike Wingate was in favour of the idea of a missionary programme as a part of the colonial policy; he never hesitated to promote colonial activities and to present colonial activists as Church heroes. In 1908 he started an appeal to build a cathedral in memory of General Gordon. In 1930, he erected a tower and bells in the same cathedral in memory of Sir Oliver Lee Stack, who had been assassinated by Muslim nationalists in a Cairo street on 21 November, 1924. On 25 January, 1931, memorials were unveiled and dedicated to Lord Kitchener and Sir Lee Stack in Khartoum Cathedral. Governor-General Sir John Maffey addressed the Christian gathering, saying: 'But here, in the peace of this cathedral, we can feel – as in the church we love best at home – a gentle spirit of continuing purpose. We owe loyalty to those who trod this path before us, we have a kindly thought for those who have not yet come, who will worship here who have passed on.'[25]

The Followers in Comboni's Footsteps

In Mahdiyya days, the Catholic Mission survived in Cairo and spread to the Red Sea and up the Nile to Aswan, on the periphery of Sudan, awaiting the result of the Western powers' policy towards Sudan and the collapse of the Mahdiyya. Vicar Francesco Sogaro succeeded Daniel Comboni as Vicar Apostolic of the missions to Sudan. He supervised the evacuation of the mission from Sudan during

the Mahdiyya and established his seat in Cairo. He established a missionary school in Takar and a missionary centre in Suakin. The financial situation of the mission flourished unbelievably – to a total value of 1,083,873,211 Lira for the period 1883–94.[26] During his reign, the Roman Catholic Vicar Brinille (1837–1916) served in the Nile Campaign to rescue General Gordon, in the Suakin Field Force 1885, and finally in the Dongola and Nile campaigns of 1896–98[27] which led to the destruction of the Mahdiyya. Sogaro was dismissed, because he was too Austrian. Verona wished to Italianize the Sudan, so as to facilitate colonial conquest in Africa for Italy. The Propaganda office bestowed the Vicariate on Antonio Maria Roveggio and, to appease Austria, the Austrian Father Geyer was to be his assistant.

The mission failed to evacuate the seven Catholic foreign missionaries, who were at Diling – four priests and three sisters – and they were arrested and interviewed by the Mahdī who did not invite them to become converts.[28] One of them, Sister Grigolini Teresina (1931) a Catholic nun, served in Berber (1878) and then in Diling. She married – during the Mahdiyya – D. Kakorembas, a Greek subject and bore him two sons. She continued to serve the mission after Sudan's re-conquest. Her companion, Vicar Josef Ohrwalder (d. 1912) escaped to Egypt in 1892, where he participated with other Catholics in the activities which led to Sudan's re-conquest in 1898. Roveggio had proposed to Lord Cromer to have Father Ohrwalder appointed military chaplain to the British troops and permitting him to accompany them to Sudan. Ohrwalder was granted a special licence to return to Omdurman in October, 1899. Thereafter, another three Catholic missionaries arrived in Sudan to resume the long-interrupted work of the Austrian Mission, mainly among the pagan tribes.[29] They were L. Banholzer, Antonio Roveggio and Angela Vinco. The last, an Italian Catholic, who had been in Sudan in 1881 and contributed to the founding of the Diling mission, escaped during the Mahdiyya to Cairo. After her return she served in the missions at Khartoum, Omdurman and Atbara and died, like Ohrwalder, in Sudan.

The Catholics were very sensitive on the issue of Sudan. They believed they had had the greatest hand in laying the

foundation of missionary work, having sixty-four graves belonging to their pioneer missionaries who worked and died in Sudan. Moreover, they looked upon themselves as the representatives of the legitimate universal Church and upon the other Churches as mere heretics. The Catholics wanted to enjoy the fruits of their effort and sacrifice in Sudan by being granted the position of the privileged Church. However the authority, for political and security reasons, was ready to co-operate with them only on the same basis as other Christian missions. The Catholics therefore stood aloof from inter-Church activities, being interested only in their own.

General Kitchener hesitated to give them back their old building but he granted them a large piece of land on the Nile in Khartoum. It is the same block in which the Matthew Catholic Cathedral and Catholic Schools were erected. Vicar Roveggio, who was not content with the idea of confining Church activities and proselytization to non-Muslims, bought many houses in the Massalma quarter of Omdurman. He made out of them a school and nuns' hostel who were brought from abroad to run the Church activities in Khartoum and Omdurman where they started girls' schools.

The Catholics' main effort was in Southern Sudan. In the North, until 1931, there were only 250 Catholics. The Sudan was divided ecclesiastically into five vicariates apostolic: 'El Obeid, Juba, Khartoum, Rumbek and Wau, and two prefectures apostolic, 'Malakal and Mupoi'.[30]

In Northern Sudan uptil 1957 the Catholics had fourteen elementary schools with about 1,000 students, but the number reached almost 10,000 in the 1980s.

The Contribution of the American United Presbyterian Mission (AUPM)

One of the features of the second half of the nineteenth century was the increasing share of the United States in the worldwide spread of Protestant Christianity and the rapid increase of non-denominational societies for the spread of Christianity.[31]

The American United Presbyterian Mission (AUPM) is a body of the Presbyterian family, under the direction of a

board of managers at Philadelphia, USA. It first set foot in Egypt in 1854. The American missionaries concentrated on recruitment among the Coptic community; by 1895 more than five thousand Copts were baptized and as many as seventy-five former Muslims had also been baptized.[32] The AUPM established in the newly-converted Egyptian community their own Church, which came to be known as the 'Evangelical (Injili) Church' of Egypt and the same pattern was followed in Sudan. In 1900 the converted Coptic Pastor Sabra Hanna was sent to Omdurman and started work to establish the Evangelic Church of Sudan. However, the Presbyterians kept their original name in Sudan. In 1899, the AUPM sent two representatives to explore the possibilities for their mission. They were Rev. John Kelly Giffin and Rev. George A. Sowash, who entered Sudan in 1900. They established a church and educational institutions in Hilfa, Khartoum, Omdurman, Khartoum North, Geraif, Atbara, Sinkat, Wad Medani, Dongola, Port Sudan, Dollip and Nasser – the last two in Southern Sudan.

The Presbyterians concentrated on educational work. They started a girls' boarding school in Khartoum North in 1908, and Bible work in the homes of the three main towns; they gave lessons in reading and writing, with the Bible as the textbook, to Sudanese women.[33] Their Bible class of Muslims at Omdurman was considered in the first decade of the twentieth century to be the largest in all of North Africa; in it 120 students were taught Christianity by a converted Muslim.

The other chief methods of AUPM are:

1. Evangelistic tours on the Nile, for preaching and the distribution of Christian literature.
2. The publication or distribution of Christian literature.
3. Work among women, who receive sympathy and aid.

Two autonomous Churches have grown out of the Presbyterians' activities in Sudan. In the North all the possessions and estates went to the Evangelic Church of Sudan, with its much smaller membership of (in 1968) 1,500, mainly Copts. In Southern Sudan the AUPM met some success, having a

membership of 20,000 in 1968.

In Northern Sudan, many American missionaries began to question the relevance of evangelism among Muslims. Very often they submitted their resignation with statements like: 'I think they have a religion well suited to their needs and their environment. They believe in God, why bother them?'[34]

Notes and References

1. Mekki Abbas, *The Sudan Question*, Faber & Faber, London, 1952, p. 162.

2. Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, Vol. 2, Macmillan, London, 1908, p. 545.

3. Ibid., p. 229.

4. Ibid., p. 230.

5. Ibid., p. 231.

6. Ibid., pp. 544–5.

7. Ibid., pp. 233, 538–9.

8. J.S. Trimingham, *The Christian Approach to Islam in the Sudan*, Oxford University Press, 1948, p. 27.

9. Ibid., p. 31.

10. Ibid., pp. 31, 32.

11. *The Moslem World Review*, Vol. VII, 1921, *Government and Islam in Africa Report of World Missionary Conference*, p. 6.

12. The role of mission in the South will be discussed fully in an independent chapter.

13. Llewellyn Henry Gwynne was born in South Wales on 11 June, 1863, in a very Christian family. Three of his brothers were priests. His brother Howel had accompanied Kitchener's army to Sudan. He left London for the Sudan on 2 November, 1899. He was successful in establishing relations with King Farouq of Egypt, different Egyptian politicians, al-Maraghi, Rector of Al-Azhar and Shaikh Bābikar Badrī of Sudan. Gwynne was considered the first to open a girls' school in Sudan in 1902 for Coptic girls. He participated in the First World War as Deputy Chaplain under General Kitchener. He retired in May 1948, after working for nearly half a century in Sudan. Gwynne was anti-Zionist. He died on 7 December, 1957.

14. H.C. Jackson, *Pastor on the Nile, Being Some Account of the Life and Letters of Llewellyn Henry Gwynne*, SPCK, London, 1960, p. 33.

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18. R.O. Collins, *Land Beyond the River: The Southern Sudan 1898–1918,* Yale University Press, 1971, p. 56.

19. This situation was reversed during the last visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury to Egypt in 1987, when he signed an agreement with the Coptic Patriarch on their essential belief in Christ.

20. Fowler, op. cit., pp. 257–8.

21. A. Morris Gelsthorpe, *Introducing the Diocese of Sudan,* McCorquodale & Co., London, 1946, p. 23.

22. Trimingham, *The Christian Approach . . . ,* op. cit., p. 21.

23. Ibid.

24. Gelsthorpe, op. cit., p. 50.

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26. McEwan, *A Catholic Sudan,* p. 135.

27. Richard Hill, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan,* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1951, p. 341.

28. C.B. Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa,* Vol. 3, Lutterworth, London, 1964, p. 171.

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CHAPTER FOUR

The Missions in Southern Sudan

Some Characteristics of the Area and its Population

Southern Sudan covers an area of a quarter million square miles and has a population of about 5,271,000. It lies in the tropical area between eastern longitude 3–3.5 degrees and northern meridian 4–12 degrees and is surrounded by five African nations: Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Zaire and the Republic of Central Africa.

More than sixty tribes live in the South, each with its own language, tradition, culture and way of living. These tribes may be put technically into four categories: Nilotic tribes, Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk. They form half the population of Southern Sudan. The Dinka are considered to be the largest tribe in Sudan, their 1,350,000 members making up about 27 per cent of the region's population. The Nilotic Hamitic tribes are Latuka, Lingo and Acholi. Of the tribes which migrated from West Africa, the most important are the Zande, who are shorter and less black and soil cultivators. Border tribes consist of the Anwak and Beir along the Abyssinian border and the Kakwa, Acholi and other Equatorians along the Ugandan border. 'The religion of these tribes is what is known as animism, the belief in spirits, whether those of the tribal ancestors or those that might be described as deities.'[1]

The main feature of the South is the White Nile and its tributaries, which for some 800 miles of its 3,500 mile course runs through or forms the boundary of the South. The Sudd is a vast inland sea of vegetation, papyrus grass and climbing plants.

However, between the extremes of semi-desert North and the Sudd, the country is mostly undulating plain; in some places inhabitants are dependent for water in the dry season on deep wells or holes dug in the river beds.

The first monotheism to reach the South was Islam, but before it had completed its mission of Islamization, the South was conquered by both colonialism and Christian mission.

A Brief Historical Perspective

Very little is known about this area before 1820. Modern studies emphasize a process of historical interaction with the Kingdom of Kush, reflected in the similarity of some organization statues, many wooden, with Pharaonic features, and the religious cult. Some historians think that the Shilluk contributed to the making of the first Islamic state in the Sudan and that the Funj – the main builders – of the Islamic Kingdom of Sennar were originally Shilluk. Southern Sudan was considered from early history as a part of what came to be known as the Sudan or Land of Blacks, without fixed borders or description.

The Official Admission of Southern Sudan

The official entry of the Southern region into modern Sudan dates from the Turko-Egyptian annexation of Sudan in 1821. The new authority started a project to explore the South and the Nile's sources under Salīm Qapudān (1839–41), a Turkish sailor, who commanded three expeditions to explore the White Nile. The first voyage was undertaken in 1839–40, accompanied by many Europeans – Swiss, German, French, American and British. Qapudān reached Gondokoro, Rajaf – modern Juba – 4.42 degrees latitude and automatically the land came under Muhammad Ali's and his successor's domination under the name of Southern Sudan.

The opening of Southern Sudan to navigation and trade persuaded Europeans to come as slave traders. Northern Sudanese first went there as servants and employees of the British, French, Maltese and Italians. Professor Holt states: 'The Northern Sudanese had been the assistants and succes-

sors of the alien traders, not initiators.'[2] Apart from the slave trade, trade in ivory and rare animals' skins also flourished.

The Arrival of Missionaries

In 1846 Pope Gregory XVI created the vicariate apostolic of Central Africa – or the Sudan – an ecclesiastical division which at the outset also embraced the Sahara. The Holy See was anxious to be the first in equatorial Sudan, 'lest the inhabitants of Equatorial Sudan, should fall under the influence of Protestantism or Islam.'[3] The first Catholic mission showed a great deal of skill and determination in endeavouring to introduce the faith to tropical Africa, among a hostile population, tropical disease and primitive culture. By 1850 three Italian Jesuits under the leadership of Knoblechar had 'established their first station at Gondokoro, south of Lado, not far from Uganda among the Bari people and another one near Bor. The leader of the team, Knoblechar, soon returned to Europe for help.[4] At that time about a third of the cost of mission was sponsored by collecting money from societies and charitable associations, the other two-thirds was granted by the colonial powers and the Pope. In Austria, Knoblechar organized an association for the support of the enterprise with branches in every diocese. The Emperor Francis Joseph I gave it his protection, backed it by a substantial financial grant, and opened on its behalf an Austrian Consulate in Khartoum.'[5]

In 1855, the Mazza Institute in Verona, in an effort to support the newborn Sudan's vicariate, sponsored and organized a mission to Sudan via the Nile. The mission consisted of five priests, one of whom was Daniel Comboni. The mission had a very hard time, faced as it was by a hostile population and climate and cultural and language barriers. As a result of such hardship one of the priests died and Comboni, fully understanding the situation of the mission, and with an eye to the future, took this oath: 'I will never give up, Africa or death.'

With the return of the Mazza Expedition, the Holy See decided that the Mission of Central Africa – Sudan – should be entrusted to a religious order, and two expeditions

consisting of fifty-two religious were sent, of whom twenty-two had died, from disease or hardship, within a few months. Comboni responded with a new strategy of Christianizing Africa by recruiting Africans, who were trained and educated to do the job. He established two institutes for Africans of both sexes, one in Cairo and the other for sisters in Verona. Many African Sudanese – both male and female – were sent for training at the two institutes.

During the Mahdiyya, Christianity disappeared from Southern Sudan, although the South was the area least affected by it. An official Catholic publication, in an endeavour to plant anti-Mahdī feeling among Southerners said: 'It is interesting to note that the population of Southern Sudan had already reduced from 2,400,000 to 550,000 during the period when the Northerners occupied the South from 1885–1903.'[6]

Such a statement is baseless, since there was no reliable estimate of Southern Sudan's population before the Mahdiyya or after it in 1903. No major war took place there during the period. On the contrary, what is known with certainty is that many Southerners joined the Mahdiyya voluntarily. Jihadia black Muslim soldiers – the backbone of the Mahdiyya army – were predominantly Southern Sudanese. The two prominent Mahdist generals, Ḥamdān Abū 'Anja and Zakī Ṭamal, were Southerners. The Sudanese government garrisons in Southern Sudan under the leadership of an Austrian officer, Edward Schnitzer – known as Amīn Pasha – evacuated peacefully; some of them joined the Mahdiyya. There was no indication of Mahdī harshness in Southern Sudan. The Mahdiyya era is generally considered by historians to have been a period of recession in the sphere of Arabization and Islamization, due to the Northerner's evacuation of the South. Al-Mahdī viewed the dynamism of his movement in spreading to the North not to the South. The Mahdiyya expanded to the north, dreaming of affecting the Muslim heartlands; it was distracted by that dream from spreading the faith in black Africa. There was no significant contribution or impact of the Mahdī – positive or negative – in the South.

After the Anglo-Egyptian conquest, the Condominium

authorities approved and encouraged European mission and the Church to begin work in Southern Sudan. 'Moreover Wingate hoped that the missionaries could build a strong Christian counter-weight in the South to balance Muslim strength in the North. He himself was a devout Christian and was consequently happy to support the missionary societies, particularly where they were willing to provide secular education at no cost to the government.'[7] The government was happy to allow missionaries to preach the Gospel and to carry the responsibility for education and social services.

In 1900 the boundaries of the Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Central Africa were defined as extending from Aswan to the northern extremity of Lake Albert along the Victoria Nile. The Catholics were the first to reach the South after the conquest. In December 1900, Mgr. Roveggio[8] with Father Tappi and Ohrwalder, established a mission between the Shilluk in Lul on the Upper Nile near Malakal. The Shilluk were afraid of them as they reminded them of their ex-European oppressors, the slave traders. On 7 July, 1901, two of the mission huts were set on fire and the priests were left without shelter. One of the fathers wrote: 'When Father Tappi and I started the first mission among the Shilluk at Lul, they did not want us, they hated us and twice attempted to kill us.'[9] Cromer gave them moral and material support by visiting Lul in February, 1902. Early in 1902 the Catholics were without rivals or competitors in the field of proselytization, the areas south of the 12th parallel were declared 'closed districts', into which no one, not even natives from the Northern Sudan could penetrate without a special permit from the British authorities in Khartoum. 'British administrators and Christian missionaries had roamed the virgin areas encouraging distrust of the Arab North. There were stern warnings that only the British could keep the hateful Arabs and their sinister designs in check.'[10]

In 1903 Bishop Geyer[11] came to Sudan. Under his leadership the work to propagate the Catholic faith was carried forward into the Catholic sphere in the central and western region of the Bahr al-Ghazal. On 15 February, 1904 Geyer reached Wau, where Governor W.A. Boultnios gave him a

cordial welcome. There, with the help of the Governor, he established three stations. One at Chief Kayango's village west of Wau, another in Jur land south-west of Wau, and the third on Tonj among the Shilluk. A school was attached to each station.

In Wau, Geyer came across the challenge of its governmental school, which served the children of the Muslim military garrison. The school was a dilemma for both the authorities and the Church. James Currie, director of education refused to grant aid to it, though it was governmental, fearing that it might be an Islamization tool. Wingate was appalled when he visited the school to find the pupils communicating in Arabic and with Arabic names. He invited the Catholic prelate to take over the school and to open a station at Wau. By the end of 1905 Geyer had successfully taken over the Wau school, changing the nature of the school from secular to Catholic and teaching the sons of Sultans and Muslim leaders the Gospel in order to Christianize them.

In the Bahr al-Ghazal mission, the early missionaries were divided on the issue of whether it would be better first to promote social development and later begin evangelization, or to start evangelization immediately as a means of social development. The second opinion prevailed. On 28 February, 1907 Father Paolo Maroni, a religious superior of the mission in the Sudan, baptized the first eight Christians – six boys and two married women at Kagnjo in Bahr al-Ghazal. The first ten baptisms were solemnly confirmed in 1911.[12]

In 1912 a station was founded at Mupoi, another at Gondokoro among the Bari tribe, another at Paloro among the Madi, and others at Moboro and Morgan Khali in 1913.

Under the leadership of Bishop Geyer, between 1904 and 1912 eight missions were established. The inaugurating of the Wau mission cost many missionaries their lives. By 1907 the two fathers who started the work with Geyer had died. However by May 1912, the Catholic work was under way again due to the arrival of five European sisters.[13] On 30 May 1913, the Bahr al-Ghazal mission was separated from the Vicariate Apostolic of the Sudan, and formed a Prefecture Apostolic with its headquarters at Wau. It was entrusted to the care of the congregation of the Sons of the Sacred

Heart. Its borders were to the north, 10 degrees north latitude from Sudan's frontier to the River Bahr al-Arab, then the rivers Bahr al-Arab, Bahr al-Ghazal, Bahr el-Jebel and Sobat as far as the British Abyssinian border. By a decree dated 30 May, 1913, R.P. Antonio Stoppari was appointed first Vicar Apostolic.[14] After him came Rodolfo Orleri (1892–1946) an Italian who joined the mission in 1920. He became Vicar Apostolic in 1933, a position he held till his death.

In 1916, after the expulsion of the Austrian fathers from Sudan due to the First World War's pressures and requirements, the Catholic strength in the South was 26 fathers and 14 lay brothers.

It seems that the European rivalries and national loyalties were reflected among the Catholic society who no longer worked as a team. In 1923, the members of the Verona Fathers Missionary Society, who were of German origin and language, became a separate branch and were assigned a separate mission elsewhere in Africa.[15] Consequently Bishop Geyer, Vicar Apostolic of Khartoum at that time, a German, resigned and was succeeded by Mons. P.T. Silvestri (1924–29).

The second important development in the Catholic work came in the late twenties, when seminaries were opened in the South, reflecting that the Church had begun to take root. The opening of seminaries inaugurated the stage of recruiting and emergence of indigenous missionaries – in 1928, Ohoru Junior Seminary, 1930 at Wau (later Bussene), and at Tore in 1954. 'The first Sudanese Catholic priest was from Juba Vicariate Apostolic, the late Guido Okou (17 December, 1944) and Fr. Farcisio Lado. From Bahr al-Ghazal province came Fr. Ireneo Wien Dit Akot (21 December, 1944) who became the first Sudanese Bishop in 1955.'[16]

The Verona Fathers opened a school in Isoke among the Donyatona in 1926. In the same year they began their attempt to penetrate the Muslim tribes and to dominate the Muslims of West Bahr al-Ghazal by establishing a station and school at Deim Zubeir. In 1926, the Catholic school had 1,040 male and 360 female students. Most of these students were barely educated or literate Catechists who were then promptly despatched into the bush to teach and convert

others. The Catholics regarded their bush schools as their most powerful means of conversion. The bigger boys became priests.[17]

In 1930, the Verona Fathers established a school at Torit in the open sphere, with Fr. Edoard Mason, the future Bishop, as its first principal, with fifteen students. The open sphere – Lado enclave – remained a Catholic monopoly. In 1931 the government denoted it 'The Lee Stack Memorial School' which was established in 1927 by a Verona Father. The Verona Fathers adopted vocational training and developed a Wau Intermediate industry school.

In 1923, the Prefecture Apostolic of the Equatorial Nile, with its headquarters at Galu in Uganda was detached from the Bahr al-Ghazal Vicariate. In 1927, the new Southern Sudan ecclesiastical division of the Equatorial Nile was detached from the Eliganda Prefecture and constituted as a separate Prefecture Apostolic of the Bahr al-Jebel, with its headquarters at Juba. In 1938, a separate Prefecture Apostolic was established for the Verona Fathers in Malakal.[18] The Malakal Prefecture had grown and four mission stations were established, at Detwok, Lul, Tonga and Yoynyang. In June 1903, three Verona Sisters, with Mother Guiseppe Scandola as superior, came to assist in the mission work among the Shilluk. Mother Guiseppe died there. The first school was founded under a tree, and a mud hut served as a church till 1911 when it was replaced by a larger brick building. Two other Catholic priests died; Father Banholzer in Lul in 1914, and Father Beduchi in Detwok after founding the mission of Black Water in 1923. Brother Joshua eventually died a leper. This reflected the sacrifices which the Catholics made in this unhospitable, isolated environment for the cause of their faith. Father Kohnen at Lul wrote a Shilluk grammar and translated the New Testament and a Bible history into that language.[19]

Changes in the international situation and the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1936[20] made the British administration cautious about activities in the Sudan, in particular the Sudanese land adjacent to Abyssinia. A restriction on Italian missionary activities was introduced. In 1938, Italian priests were evacuated from the Upper Nile and the Fathers of St.

Josephs society of Mill Hill,[21] who were non-Italian English-speaking, took over the staffing of the district from the Verona Fathers who had worked there for nearly forty years. In 1940 a Committee comprising the Governor-General, the Civil Secretary and the Director of Education decided to 'close all mission stations staffed by Italians on the Nile and to the east, except the immediate schools at Ojara, which is sufficiently isolated, and the Italians concentrated in one or more places under proper supervision or guarantee.'[22]

Mgr. Wall, the first of the Mill Hill fathers to arrive made his headquarters at Malakal and the Prefecture was renamed after this place in 1949. With the coming of the Mill Hill fathers a central school was established in Detwok for both boys and girls, as well as a teacher-training centre. Mgr. Wall relinquished his office of Prefect in 1947 and was succeeded by Mgr. John H. Hart who carried on from July 1949 till 1961, and then by Mgr. Te Blele (1961–64) who was expelled for political and security reasons.

Other developments in the Catholic Church took place in Equatoria. At first the Catholics thought to run their operation in Equatoria from Uganda. In 1923 the new Prefecture Apostolic of Equatorial Nile was established, with its headquarters at Galu in Uganda. But this plan seemed not to work. In 1927 the Sudan's stations were detached from the Prefecture and constituted as a separate Prefecture Apostolic of the Bahr al-Jebel, with its headquarters at Juloa.

Education was the main tool of Christianization. The educational policy of the Catholic mission was that a student was sufficiently literate if he could read the Bible. Most missionaries agreed that a literary education was dangerous. For the Catholics, civilization through learning and work meant to prepare the way for the Christian religion. They concentrated on elementary education and a lower based technical and industrial education. Until the 1930s, the missions had failed to establish any system beyond some two dozen elementary, vernacular schools, where the curriculum was predominantly evangelist, producing half-educated people, who were nominally Christian, but in reality, they were after an education and were neither Christian nor pagan though they liked to communicate in English and live like

Europeans. The mission education was partially responsible for what became a clash between the traditional Southern society and the Southern emerging elite and between that Southern semi-Christian elite and Northern Sudan.

Good progress in Catholic evangelization work was achieved in Southern Sudan as proved by the following figures. The total number of converts in 1922 was 5,325, Catechists 444, Confessions 55,285 and Holy Communions 179,051. There were small hospitals with a total of 47,530 out-patients; 127 schools with 1,772 pupils and 10 trade and domestic science schools with 233 boys and girls.

The Question of Ecclesiastical Sphere of Influence

The government was happy about the arrival of missions in Southern Sudan, to help spread Western civilization, to plant Christianity and to act as a bulwark against Islam. Yet the missions could not forget their rivalry, envy and their historical enmity and conflict. The Catholics wanted to conquer as much land as possible and to deprive other Christian missions of a foothold. The position of CMS and other Protestant missions was threatened. Here Wingate introduced his 'sphere of influence' policy. The sphere of influence changed many times due to Catholic pressure and encroachment and also as a result of transferring the Lado enclave to Sudan when King Leopold died in December 1909.

The mission sphere of influence adopted by Wingate in 1904 was by 1913 as follows: Catholics in Bahr al-Ghazal, Yambio and Tombora in the Zande land, Bahr al-Ghazal, the Lado enclave which was open for all missions and the western bank of the White Nile in the Upper Nile province. This gave the Catholics the opportunity to work among the Nilotic tribes of the Dinka, Shilluk, Nuer, and also the Zande.

However this arrangement did not resolve the fighting between the missions. The Catholics refused to accept the sphere system, since it violated the fundamental tenets of all Christian proselytization, that recognizes no secular boundaries to the teaching of Christianity. The British Protestants were more practical, or rather, more hypocritical. They too

agreed that Christianity knew no secular barrier, but they were sufficiently realistic to know that they could not compete for pagan souls against the resources of the Catholic Church without the protection of the sphere system.[23]

In 1930, in the shadow of the Southern Policy, the Sudan government actively sought to eliminate all other Muslim, Arabic and Northern Sudanese influences from Southern Sudan. The Catholics made the most of the government policy to eliminate Islamic culture, while at the same time (from the thirties on) attacking the sphere system, successive Apostolic delegates doing their best to get it revoked. In the thirties the Catholics infiltrated the CMS sphere. In 1935 an agreement was concluded between the Anglican Church and the Catholics in Sudan, 'neither to give nor to refuse permission for a rival church to be opened in their area'.[24] From 1935 on, the policy of the government was to maintain a general system of spheres of influence, while allowing exceptions to it, when circumstances made that desirable. By the 1950s the sphere of influence was considered practically dead.

The Protestant Campaign

As early as 1878 Gordon, as Governor of Equatoria, had appealed to the CMS to commence missionary work among the pagan tribes.[25] This appeal had to wait for more than a quarter of a century to be answered, when in Autumn 1905, the CMS opened a mission in the South in Malakal and on the east bank of the Nile in the Dinka area near Bor. The first Protestants in the field were the American Presbyterians. The first four Presbyterian missionaries reached Doleib Hill under Giffin's[26] leadership on 28 March, 1902. Doleib Hill, in a Shilluk area, was at the outlet of the River Sobat on the White Nile – sixty miles south-west of the nearest Catholic mission among the Shilluk at Lul. The Presbyterians carried their message through relatively high quality education (in comparison with the Catholics) and medical treatment among the Shilluk and latterly among the Anwak and Nuer in the Nasser. Both American missionaries Tidrick[27] and Guthrie[28] died in the field at Doleib Hill.

The CMS was invited by the government to come to Southern Sudan before the Catholics dominated the scene. 'Yet the priority for CMS was the conversion of Muslims. And of all the "infidels" it was the Muslims whose conversion was most passionately desired. The conversion of the world of Islam was the great work to which the Church was called in the twentieth century. The claim of Islam to be the final and perfect revelation which superseded Christianity was seen as a direct challenge. Nowhere, however, was "the rebuke of Islam" felt more sharply than in the Sudan, where the fate of Gordon in January 1885 was seen as the sacrificial death of a Christian martyr. This was the background to their intention for the evangelization of reconquered Sudan. Its appeals for funds, emphasized the conversion of Muslims and the recovery for Christiandom of lands, which had once been the Christian kingdoms of Nubia.'[29]

The government insisted that for the time being no mission station could be allowed north of the tenth parallel, the frontier of Islamization, in any part or district of the Sudan, recognized by the government as Muslim. Eventually Cromer and Wingate reached a compromise with Gwanny, Bishop of the Sudan, by which the CMS was allowed to start educational work at Khartoum provided they did not work in the South.

In Autumn 1905, Gwanny led a party up the White Nile to Mongalla – 700 miles south of Khartoum and near to Juba. The mission consisted of three clergymen, a medical man, an agriculturist and a skilled carpenter. They had a well-equipped house, and a boat which also acted as a dwelling centre. They opened a school and a clinic and began work in the Dinka language. Malek station was administered by members of the Gordon Memorial Sudan Mission. By 1908 three stations had been opened in the Dinka land. In 1912 more missionaries arrived and two new stations were established, one at Lau among the Cheech Jieng and the other at Yambio among the Zande tribe, whose chiefs belong to the great Fulani race.

For fully ten years, the missionaries failed to convert a single person. All this time (1905–15) was spent on foundations and plans. Not a single convert was baptized.[30]

The missionaries watched with alarm the growing power of Islam in the pagan areas. The missionaries seldom visited even the most remote areas, without finding some trace of Islam. Some British officials realized that for blacks at least, Islam was a 'better' and more suitable religion than Christianity.[31] Archdeacon Shaw, writing in 1909, said: 'Unless all these black tribes are evangelized within the next few years they must inevitably become Mohammedan, its area is a strategic position for the purpose of evangelism. It is just about the centre of East Africa, half-way from the Cape to Cairo. In it is the junction between the highlands where European settlement is possible and the lowland where all crops are native grown. It is the meeting place of the Bantu tribes which extend southward to the Cape and the Nilotics which give way to Arab stock not far beyond its northern boundary. Here if anywhere, the church of Christ needs a stronghold to check the spread of Islam, a native church whose angel shall with flaming word keep the way of truth and life free from the obstruction of civilization's materialism and the teaching of the false prophets.'[32] Wingate wrote to Gwynne on 17 May, 1911: 'If you are going to put up a strong barrier to the advance of Islam you will have to stir up the various missionary societies for greater activity.'[33] In the summer of 1911, Gwynne demanded the removal of 'Muslim troops, officials and merchants from the South'.[34]

On 3 January, 1918, the government proclaimed Sunday as the official holiday throughout Mongalla Province. The Governor of Mongalla purged his province of Muslims like the 'Nubis' of Amīn Pasha's equatorial garrison to Khartoum, aiming to make Equatoria an anti-Islam buffer or bulwark, south of the Sudd and linked with Uganda.

Cash said: 'The river Nile flows through CMS history, and now this mighty waterway is a strategic line of development for commerce and Islam as well as for Christianity. Muslim influence is spreading south and Christian missions are expanding north. The meeting place and the battleground today is the Sudan. Christianity must either win the pagans of the Sudan for Christ and through them establish a strong witnessing church or confess to failure in the face of Moslem aggression.'[35]

The strategic importance of the area attracted high officials like the Earl of Cromer, and President Roosevelt of the US to come and give witness to the work of their fellow Christians, in Southern Sudan. Cromer visited the Catholics at Lul in February, 1902 and the Presbyterians at Doleib Hill in January, 1903. President Roosevelt visited the American Presbyterians at Doleib Hill on a trip down the Nile in 1910. He appraised medical work: 'If you make it evident to a man, you are sincerely trying to better his body, he will be much more ready to believe that you are trying to better his soul.'[36] Archdeacon Shaw, one of the builders and pillars of the CMS in Sudan, believed that knowing the language is the key to evangelization. He started to study the Dinka language, as a first step towards the translation of the New Testament, a task which was to be his life's work till he died in 1956.[37]

For the Dinka the Scriptures have been translated into four different dialects – Kyec, Bor, Chich and Ager. Much time and energy was put into the study of the local language and the translation of the Scripture in as many languages and dialects as possible. From 1916 this effort began to produce fruit. The first convert was baptized in the CMS mission in 1916. In 1917 the first three Dinka converts were baptized by Archdeacon Shaw. In 1920 Gwynne held his first confirmation of a Southern Sudanese.[38] At that time there were nine European missionaries manning five CMS stations. Gwynne, who always undervalued the Dinka spiritual needs, commented: 'God spoke to me . . . Who are you to say that these people can never be lifted up? You are only my messenger, they are my people, not your people.'[39]

In 1920 Gwynne became the Diocesan Bishop in Egypt and the Sudan, with his Cathedral in Cairo. In 1925 he delegated responsibility for Southern Sudan to the Bishop of Uganda. In 1926 Southern Sudan became a part of the new Diocese of the Upper Nile, which embraced Southern Sudan and Northern Uganda under Bishop Hitching. In 1935 the Anglican congregation was under an assistant Bishop in the Sudan, H.G. Bullen, who was a suffragan of Gwynne in Cairo.

The CMS work developed gradually:[40] a station was

established in 1913 in Galu among the Acholi people with two boarding schools for boys and girls and another school at Yambio, near the border of Zaire. The first Zande baptism took place in 1919. The normal Sunday congregation at Yambio was 200, but on Easter Sunday it exceeded 500. About sixty boys attended its school. A fine brick church capable of seating 1,500 people was built at the mission station. Boys and girls received Christian teaching daily as well as being taught in their own language by Christian Zande teachers. There were over 160 outschools in the little villages where the Gospel was preached. There was also a leper settlement at Rangu and another at Baragupx plus an efficient printing press, which printed reading books, Gospels in the Zande language and also in other local languages for other areas.[41]

In 1917, Yei station, 100 miles south of Juba, was set up among the Bari tribes – Kabura Fajelu, Makaraka – by Archdeacon Gibson and his wife, who had arrived in Southern Sudan that year. Fourteen of the schools were used also as churches around Yei. All of them were vernacular, built by local Christians. In Yei itself there was an elementary vernacular school. A divinity school was begun by the Rev. F.W. Crabbcare.

In 1920 a Cathedral was erected in Juba, which became the headquarters of the Gordon Memorial Southern Sudan Mission. A bookshop was established which sold Bibles, prayer-books, school books, English literature and Christian literature in English and numerous other vernaculars. In 1921, the work extended to Lui among the Moru tribe, where an up-to-date hospital opened with electric lighting in the main wards. In 1932, branch dispensaries were established with schools adjoining ten centres, each manned by a dispenser trained at Lui hospital and an evangelist. There was also the church and leper colony which had over 100 patients.

In 1921 a mission station was established at Meridi, eighty-six miles east of Yambio, by the Rev. W. Haddow, who died there from black water fever in 1924. R. Laverick carried on the work after him, in the fine brick church, the Elementary Vernacular school, the girls' boarding school and sixty village schools.

In 1928, the CMS extended its work to a station at Loka, which was built originally by the Belgians when they held the Lado enclave. In 1929–30 a combination of an E.V. school and a small hospital were established successively at Akot and Ler. In Loka the CMS founded the Nugent Intermediate School and a technical school, where a five-year course was given in English. The church of Loka gave services in Bari and English languages.

The school day began with a hymn, Bible reading and prayers. The Nugent School was a co-operative effort, sustained by the CMS and Sudan government grants. It was the only school of its kind in Southern Sudan till 1946.

The oldest of the CMS stations in Southern Sudan, Malek, came for some time under the supervision of the Dinka the Rev. Daniel Deng who was attached to the E.V. school and eight outschools. There was a clear difference in the work among the Dinka – the nearest African tribe in its tradition to Islamic Northern culture – from that among other tribes like the Bari, Moru and Zande who had been penetrated by European culture. The Dinka, who are numerically superior to all the other tribes together, are indifferent to Europeans and their methods. They have high standards of morality, different from those of Christians.

Education was the main tool of proselytization for both the Catholics and Protestants. At the base of mission education was the bush school, which taught about the Gospel, Christ, Christianity and gave lessons in elementary writing and arithmetic. It consisted of groups of readers of mixed ages and sexes. The teacher was a communicant volunteer. The school itself was normally built of mud and wattle, standard measurements being 15ft. by 10ft. There were between 200–300 bush schools; as some opened others closed. Once the students were Christianized they became catechumens. They then joined a baptism class for twelve months.

From the bush schools, the pupils went on to the E.V. school where further secular education was given by a European on a four-year course. Boys who obtained a E.V. leaving certificate could go to an intermediate school at Loka for a six-year course. English was the medium of all lessons.

Another intermediate school developed recently with fifty-two students in Juba. Teachers were drawn from the intermediate school students. All bush schools – Catholic or Protestant – received governmental grants. In 1923 the first baptism in school took place.

The other major missionary project, which absorbed the time and effort of the missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, was the field of anthrobiology and linguistic studies. A lot of work was done on that, to the extent that Southern Sudanese anthrobiological studies became the basic sources of African anthrobiology for the social scientist and students of African anthrobiology in the world's universities.

As for linguistic studies, it is enough to indicate some scripture translations to local languages and dialects. Of the 399 Bible versions, translations in the African language, no less than forty were in the Sudanese languages. Some of these versions are as follows:

1.	Nubian-Fiadidja	Gospel of Mark	1860
2.	Dinka	Gospel of Luke	1866
3.	Shilluk	Gospel of John	1911
4.	Dinka (Bor)	Gospel of Luke	1915, 1941
5.	Dinka (Chich)	Gospel of Mark	1916
6.	Nubian (Heban)	Selections	1925
7.	Dinka (Padang)	Gospel of Luke	1926, 1952
8.	Arabic Sudan in Latin Script	Gospel of Mark	1927
9.	Bari (The Gospel has been translated)	Gospel of Mark	1927, 1952
10.	Moru	Gospel of Mark	1928, 1952
11.	Madi	Gospel of Mark	1935
12.	Nuer (Nyuong)	Gospel of Mark	1935
13.	Nuba (Ninere)	Gospel of Mark	1937
14.	Nuer (Jikany)	First Epistle of John	1938
15.	Maban	Mark	1946
16.	Nuba (Moru)	Mark	1951
17.	Nyimang	Mark	1951
18.	Acholi	New Testament	
19.	Zande	New Testament	

However, despite all these efforts, mission failed to establish in the field of education any unifying system, able to create a unified Southerner personality. The curriculum was predominantly evangelist, reflecting the different methods and orientation of different churches. British Protestants frequently placed evangelizing before education; the core instruction remained religious rather than technical. Literate education in Southern Sudan had no impact on development. Mission-education produced annually a large number of students with no loyalty either to their country or to their community. Their sole aim was to live like Europeans, and when they were faced with the reality that mission-education did not provide for that, they turned from the Church, to grow up in material forms of atheism. The mission work deprived the Southern Sudanese from learning Arabic, the Sudan's official language.[42]

The Southern elite found themselves second-class citizens in the post-Independence period, by virtue of their education and orientation. The educational background of the Southern elite was to be the main source of trouble and civil war in independent Sudan.

The American United Presbyterian Mission (AUPM)

The AUPM was as aggressive against Islam as the Catholics. One of their missionaries, Charles R. Watson, commented: 'Where Islam enters, there appears to be a cunning, a capacity for deception, an untruthfulness and a dishonesty which did not characterize pagan life before Islam appeared . . . But most disturbing of all are the reports concerning the spread of immorality and of its attendant diseases through the followers.'[43]

Such were the motivations of some American missionaries who started a missionary project at Doleib Hill, over 500 miles south of Khartoum. The earliest American efforts at evangelical work were done by means of an interpreter, a Muslim who was a Shilluk by birth. The missionary had to express the thought in Arabic then the Muslim would put that into the Shilluk language.[44] Sometimes the art of preaching without words was used by which many received

their first impressions of Christianity and the Western Church. Health and education were the two main vehicles by which American Christian culture was transported throughout the land.

In 1912, the AUPM extended its work to Nasser on the River Sobat where it crosses the Ethiopian border. The AUPM aimed to control the River Sobat while descending or ascending, which would enable it to dominate the south-eastern region of Sudan. There they started language work and invited Prof. Diedrich Westermann to proceed to Sobat, to help study the Shilluk language. He brought out a brief grammar, followed by a larger work of grammar and a folklore dictionary. After him, a missionary was sponsored for six years in Doleib, where he translated the Gospel into the Shilluk language and it was afterwards printed.

By this time, more American missionaries had come to work in Southern Sudan, like the Rev. Ralph Carson and his wife, Dr. Hugh R. Magill and his wife, the Rev. Elbert McCreey and his wife, Dr. Thos. A. Lambie and his wife, Mr. A. W. Tidrick and his wife, Mr C.B. Guthrie and his wife and the Rev. D.S. Ogler and his wife. American missionary nurse Cora Blanche Soule spent all her missionary life at Doleib Hill, and died at Malakal after twenty-five years of hard work. The AUPM extended its medical work to Akoho on the other branch of the River Sobat, sixty miles south of Akobo and at Albibor at the southern extreme of the river. The AUPM developed its work and built a strong infrastructure to serve its scattered mission, helped greatly by the use of a small aeroplane. The AUPM maintained fifteen village schools. The mission's teachers profited by refresher courses organized at different centres by the Department of Education. All the American and CMS stations were in daily communication with one another through a radio network operated by AUPM headquarters at Malakal.[45] The Rev. W. Don McClure, who founded Akobo station among the Anwak in 1938, extended his work, supported by Emperor Haile Selassie, to both Anwak and Nuer in Ethiopia, making his headquarters at Pakwo on the River Baro. When in 1963 active resistance began among the Anwak and the Gaajok Nuer of the Nasser region,

McClure was suspected of inciting it.[46]

Trouble and mutiny in both the seventies and eighties had started from Akobo and Albibor. The American mission's aggression and outspoken opposition to the government cost it nine expulsions before the general expulsion of March, 1964. Yet the mission still operated, directed by McClure and his team from the border. Up until the sixties they had ordained only four Sudanese pastors. The AUPM translated the Gospel to the Mabri and Anouk language in Arabic script.

The Sudan United Mission (SUM)

This Australian-based international mission founded by Dr. K. Kunam was established in 1904 in response to an appeal from leaders in several British denominations for a joint effort to prevent the advance of Islam in Central Africa. It attracted missionaries from Australia and New Zealand, who had worked in Southern Sudan since the first station was opened in 1913 in the Melut-Dinka area. It extended its work to Rom and Meriok, reaching the Dinka Shilluk Nuer and Nuba at Heban and Abri.

The Melut mission was founded by Wilfordol Milham[47] and his wife. The SUM started schools at Melut among the Paloich Dinka and at Rom opposite Kodok among the Durjol in 1924. In 1939 the Melut station was transferred to the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) which founded four schools among the northern Dinka, Mabri and the Uduk, on the Ethiopian frontier, and at Chaliel Fil among the Uduk, and at Doro among the Maban. The SUM had a station at Aboiyat for the Paloich and at Bangjang, not far south of Renk (the frontier of Islam in this region). In 1945 the AUPM took over the SUM school at Rom. There were poor results from all these schools. Rom was abandoned, Bangjang closed, Doro had only two classes with twenty-two boys. In 1945 there was no intake into Melut.[48]

The SUM concentrated its efforts mainly in the eastern part of the Upper Nile province among the border tribes.

The Sudan Interior Mission (SIM)

The Canadian Protestant mission, which had its headquarters in Toronto, moved into Sudan in 1937, after its missionaries were expelled from Ethiopia during the Italian invasion. It established its main centre in Upper Nile north-eastern area to the north of the AUPM and opened four stations in the South with schools and dispensaries. They translated some portions of the Gospel into the Auduk and Anwak languages; they also prepared some textbooks in the local language. In 1940 their station at Doro in the Upper Nile was bombarded by the Italians. Two of their American missionaries were killed (Dr. and Mrs. Robert Grieve) and two others were wounded.[49] The SIM in co-ordination with the SUM, established themselves at Melut at the end of 1938 and established stations at Aboiyat and Bangjang. This geographical adjustment released some SUM forces for work in the Kordofan province. In 1945 the SIM extended its work to the Ingessanu tribe, who seemed to provide the most accessible element in an otherwise solidly Muslim territory.[50] In 1961, the government felt that their activities impaired security and closed three of their four stations in the Dinka territory.[51] In 1964, the SIM had thirty-six missionaries at nine stations. By 1970 only five missionaries remained.

African Inland Mission (AIM)

When the Catholics under the leadership of Bishop Mason tried to penetrate the CMS sphere of influence in 1948 near Rumbek in the Dinka land, the CMS rather than give it up urged the British section of the African Inland Mission to assume responsibility for the stations at Akot and on the Gel River with the intention of eventually turning over all of the Rumbek district to them.[52] John Boyce, a veteran of almost fifty years of service in Kenya spearheaded the advance of the AIM into Southern Sudan in 1949. By 1963 it had opened four stations and its church membership had risen to 250.

In 1946 a missionary council for the South was formed on the initiative of CMS, SUM and the AUPM. 'The primary aim of missions', it was reported in 1949, 'is to build up a

stable self-expanding church which will be able to hold its own against Islamic penetration under changing political conditions.' In seven years the political change had come. The issue of Arabic teaching in the schools of the South, to facilitate unity with the Arabic-speaking people of the North, reflected a complete reversal and rejection of the mission strategy reflected in the Southern Policy and the Rajaf Conference Resolution. But what is the Rajaf Resolution and what is the Southern Policy?

The Rajaf Conference Resolution

One of the findings of the World Missionary Conference, held in Edinburgh in 1910, was 'the threatening advance of Islam in Equatorial Africa, presents to the Church of Christ, the decisive question whether the Dark Continent shall become Mohammedan or Christian.' In discussing this report, the Rev. George Robson, D.D., said: 'Pagan Africa is becoming Mohammedan more rapidly than it is becoming Christian. Among all the inland routes of trade, Mohammedan traders are steadily advancing southward and every Mohammedan trader is a Mohammedan missionary. The very first thing which requires to be done, if Africa is to be won for Christ is to throw a strong missionary force right across the centre of Africa to bar the advance of Islam.'[53]

In 1926, a comprehensive statement prepared by a commission appointed by the Missionary Council of the Church Assembly declared that 'this double scheme of building up a church and at the same time training it to face Islam is the real answer to what has been called the Moslem menace in Africa. Islam is still pressing in from the north through the Sudan and from the east and west into the interior . . . The history of missions in Moslem lands was at one time, to a large extent a history of educational work . . . The changing conditions in the Moslem world make it imperative that the church should reconsider its educational policy of Islam . . . We emphasize here the fact that from the north Islam is spreading through the Sudan and the CMS mission in the Southern Sudan is hopelessly weak at present and unable with its present staff to stem the tide. Unless this mission

can be greatly strengthened, we see no hope of preventing ultimately a solid mass of Mohammedanism right up to the borders of Uganda, and who can say what this may mean to the growing native church there?'[54]

On 13 March, 1926, a meeting was convened at Juba to discuss among other matters, education for the South. This was the most significant event in the history of education in Southern Sudan, during the Condominium. After twenty-seven years of colonization, the Sudan government had accepted the principle of financial and supervisory responsibilities for education. The government granted £2,750 to the Verona Fathers and the CMS to help their twenty-three elementary schools and publication of vernacular literature.[55] The question of who would control education in the South, the missionary or the government, never arose. The fundamental reason why the British officials did not decide to develop governmental education in the South was their blind faith in the policy of creating a Christian South to redress the situation in the North.[56]

On 9 April, 1927 the inter-territorial Rajaf conference was held, attended by some official language experts and thirty-three missionaries including Catholic White Fathers and Protestants from the Congo, Sudan United Mission and Uganda. Civil secretary MacMichael sent Milleson, the assistant director of intelligence in the civil secretary's office, to observe the proceedings. The host, J.G. Matthaw, Secretary of Education and Health was also present.

The objective of the conference was to draw up a list of languages and dialects in Southern Sudan and to determine a group of languages for the preparation of textbooks and education. The conference concluded on 14 April, 1927 with agreement as to six languages for the elementary vernacular schools – Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk, Bari, Latuka and Azande – the same group of languages which were used in missionary schools and were developed and written in Latin script by them. The conference ignored the official language of the country – Arabic. No Muslim or Northern Sudanese was invited or allowed to observe the conference.

Professor Westermann, Director of the International Institute of African Languages and Culture, was to produce a

united orthography to the chosen language.[57] The government stated at the conference: 'It is the policy of the Sudan government that English should as soon as possible become the language of official correspondence in the Southern Sudan, and steps are being taken to put this into effect as circumstances permit.'

Romanic characters should be used for writing, Arabic be replaced by English.[58] The Rajaf resolutions legalized the practices and the policies of mission in education which led to what came to be known as 'the problem of Southern Sudan' which was mainly that the Southern elite could not communicate in their national language. The Rajaf Conference paved the way to a 'Southern Policy'.

The Southern Policy was one of segregation and disintegration. It was an aggressive cultural strategy aiming to make Southern Sudan a missionary field monopolized by missions, and a bulwark against Islam in Sudan. It seemed to take its legitimacy from Rudyard Kipling's address to the Sudanese on 8 December, 1898: 'Go, and carry your shoes in your hand and bow your head on your breast, for he who did not slay you in sport, he will not teach you in jest.' In the summer of 1911, Gwynne demanded the removal of Muslim troops, officials and merchants from the South.[59]

The spirit of the 'Southern Policy' was reflected in Zwemer's comment in chapter 119, section 1, of the Government regulations for the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan: 'The only props of Islam left are the Christian powers who, for political purposes are keeping from decent burial, what might still infect a considerable portion of humanity and keep salvation – that is soul health – from reaching the soul-sick millions of our fellow men, for whom Christ died.' The Southern Policy thought to eradicate Islam totally and give it a humanitarian burial.

The English Anglican Bishop of the Sudan Church in the 1930s, J. Spencer Trimingham, said: 'It may be said that, as the Uganda Mission stopped the spread of Islam among the Baganda, so the Southern Sudan Missions, aided by the "Southern Policy" of the Sudan government, are stopping Muslim penetration from sweeping round the less impressionable Nilotes and embracing tribes such as the Moru and Azande.'[60]

J.W. Robertson, civil secretary, using Governor-General Robert Howe's words, commented: 'The underlying reason for the policy of closer spheres was presumably to spread the civilizing missionary effort over the whole vast field of Southern Sudan.'[61]

The engineer of the discontinuation of the give-and-take policy in human values between North and South was the Civil Secretary Harold MacMichael.[62] Though MacMichael had his disputes and claims against some missionaries, he was a stubborn believer in the necessity of eradicating Islamic culture from Southern Sudan. Both the Protestants and Catholics welcomed the Southern Policy, as they considered it the crowning of their efforts of urging the government to pursue a policy of linguistic and cultural segregation in Southern Sudan.

The Southern Policy was defined in MacMichael's letter: 'It is the aim of the government to encourage as far as possible (Christian) Greek and Syrian traders rather than the Gallaba (Northern traders) type . . . The limitation of Gallaba trade to towns or established routes is essential . . . Every effort should be made to make English the means of communication . . . In short, whereas at present Arabic is considered by many natives of the South as the official, as it were, the fashionable, language, the object of all should be to counter this idea by every practical means.'[63]

The civil secretary directed that Northern officials should be gradually eliminated from the Southern provinces. The governor of Bahr al-Ghazal wrote to his restive subordinate: 'To further the policy of encouraging local language, tribal consciousness and English and suppressing Arabic, everything which in the smallest degree may contribute to this should be done.'[64]

The aim was the elimination of all traces of Muslim and Arabic culture in the South, to the extent where nudity would be abandoned for clothing as the European style.[65] It was decided that the governors of the three Southern provinces should not, unless essentially required, attend the annual meetings of governors of provinces at Khartoum but should have their own gathering in the South and keep in touch with their opposite numbers in Kenya and Uganda.[66]

The MacMichael 'Memorandum on Southern Policy' put into effect the missionary enterprise – or dream – for which the mission had been working. The Southern Policy started an era of a new crusade, to Christianize Southern Sudan. The Southerners' Governors and their District Controllers carried this crusade to its logical conclusion by the following:

1. Arabic should not be spoken in Southern Sudan and Arabic culture and style should be suppressed to the extent of suppressing Arabic names and introducing Christian names and the inhabitants of Bahr al-Ghazal should be forced to become Christian.
2. Arab traders were to be screened. The Fellata emigrant Muslims from West Africa would simply be ordered to go north.
3. Forming of a buffer zone and a no-man's land between the Muslim tribes and pagan ones, the stopping of the long process of interaction between Northern and Southern tribes. The separation of Ngok Dinka from the Hamr Arabs with whom they were freely mixing and inter-marrying.
4. Elimination of Islam in the Western district of Dar Fertit and a purge of Arabic and Muslim influence. Expel Muslims from Raja and Kafia Kingi and divert the pilgrim route northward through Darfur. (Kafia Kingi was abandoned and finally it was destroyed and set ablaze in a dramatic way; 100 of its population who escaped the fire died of starvation).[67]

The Art of Brainwashing

Southern Sudan became a closed district in the thirties, free from any Islamic or Northern influence. The missionaries became masters of the situation and the policy of separating the South from the North and adding it to British East Africa or turning it into a new Pakistan gained momentum. In mission schools, the Southern students were taught that their brothers from the North were the source of all their hardship. In the teaching of religion and history every opportunity was taken to keep the memory of slavery alive.

'At one mission station a huge tree was carefully looked after – Northerners were alleged to have conducted their slave dealings beneath it.'[68] The missionaries failed to mention that the Europeans initiated and were the masters of the slave trade and that the Northerners were there initially as their servants and employees. When the CMS accepted the unity of the Sudan in 1956, they tried to change this policy. None of their missions now mentioned the 'slavery' story.[69] But the change of policy came too late. The new generation – the elite – had become very conscious of these stories and obsessed and dominated by negative ideas, such as that the Northerners were the traditional enemies.

The political object of the 'Southern Policy' was clearly stated in a memorandum by MacMichael on 10 August, 1928: 'To create a solid barrier, protecting the South against the insidious political intrigue, which must in the ordinary course of events increasingly beset our path in the North'.

One aspect of the Southern Policy[70] was its insistence that it was defending African culture and tradition. How could the aim of the policy be developing indigenous customs, traditional usage and beliefs when the mission (invited and encouraged by the government) were out to break the indigenous customs, traditional usage and beliefs of the natives? Disintegration of the social system forced the people to change their names with new names imposed under baptization practices. The educated class was in rivalry with the accepted leaders of the people and the formation through education and propaganda of a character hostile to Islam and the North resulted in a long war of victims and casualties.

'The effect of "the southern policy" could not be reversed overnight. The policy which had deliberately involved massive population transfers and a purposeful destruction of the southern economy, had left the two halves of the country artificially divided . . . The enmity and hatred which it had created between the two groups remained, and the negotiations over independence which the southerners felt had been conducted without their full participation, further fanned the flames of bitterness.'[71]

The Governor-General G.S. Symes, in his report covering the period 1932–40 realized that there were still some

Northern traders, above the agreed 400 trading in Southern Sudan. He commented: 'It is impracticable to eliminate them entirely, as many have been established for over a generation and are almost naturalized and in practice evictions are few, made only on proof of misdemeanour or bankruptcy. Those who are evicted are often replaced statistically by the sons of other traders who have been born and bred in the south. The classification "northern" includes children of mixed unions. There is a strict control of permits to enter the southern provinces for purposes of trade which are granted only in exceptional circumstances . . . The Mill Hill Roman Catholic mission . . . their knowledge of the English language and their sympathy with the outlook of the administrators are likely to prove an effective help in the furtherance of southern policy'.[72]

The most successful part of the Southern Policy was in the field of education.[73] The mission carried on the policy of employing education to Christianize the South. The official figures of mission schools are as follows:

	1932	1934	1936	1938	1940
Outschools	189	310	392	599	442
Elementary boys' schools	29	31	34	34	34
Elementary girls' schools	5	10	17	18	19
Intermediate boys' schools	3	3	3	3	3
Technical schools	3	3	3	3	3
Normal schools	1	2	3	2	2
	230	359	452	659	503

In 1944, there were 277 village schools, 30 elementary, 8 central, 3 intermediate and 3 traders with a total of 9,578 boys and 646 girls. Most of the outschools – bush schools – continued to be little more than catechetical centres. The mission failed to develop any sort of girls' education beyond the elementary stage. The government did not try to develop

any sort of governmental education until the fifties. It threw its lot behind the missionary education. At least 70 Verona Fathers missionaries were sent to be trained in teaching and to obtain the colonial course Diploma.[74] The government reduced its subsidies and supervision of mission education. The cost was as follows:

1932	1934	1936	1938	1940
£8,715	£9,469	£11,071	£11,929	£19,218

Though the mission viewed female education as important in developing a Christian community, progress was slow. In March, 1939, the CMS and the Sudan government appointed a commission consisting of Miss N.E. Ainley and Mrs. M.C. Warburton to examine, report and make recommendations on girls' education in the South. Before that, in 1928–38, the missionaries threw themselves into the task of preparing dictionaries, grammars, folktales and textbooks with the enthusiasm of frustrated academics.[75]

By the time the British withdrew from the Sudan no girls' secondary schools existed in the South and only one girls' intermediate school had been established throughout the whole region after the mid-forties.[76]

The nineteen elementary girls' schools had a total strength of between fifteen and thirty pupils, were run on the same lines as boys' schools and shared broadly the same syllabus. In 1944 the total number of girls in all stages of education was only 646. Again the mission failed to attract a sufficient number of Southern girls to take up a career in teaching. The mission was more concerned with providing nuns than teachers. This approach discouraged girls from developing an interest in education. The Verona Fathers wasted their time in producing translations of approved school books into Latuka, Madi and Dinka languages. These were produced by the Verona Fathers presses and binding works at Wau, Juba and the Catholic Mission Society at Yambio produced a vernacular news sheet read by very few persons, and periodicals, mainly of a religious nature.[77] The Bishop Gwynne College was founded in 1945 by the CMS for

training pastors and church workers at Mundri in Equatoria. No heed was paid to advancing secular education.

Bona Malwal, an educated Southerner, comments: 'Some blame can be traced to the system of education in the South at that time. There were teachings in some of the Christian missionary schools in the South which used to portray Arabic for instance, as a bad language compared to English or Italian. There were times when talking Arabic in any school in the South could be punished by dismissal from the school. Southerners were brought up as Christians in missionary schools. In these schools, the only ones that were available at that time, Christianity was presented as a superior religion in competition with other inferior religions. Islam was not allowed free access to Southern villages in the way Christianity was . . . It was not too difficult to build a Southern prejudice against the North in Southern schools where the Arab role in selling and buying Africans into slavery was part of the history that was taught.'[78]

The Mission and Constitutional Development

The Second World War compelled the British to enhance constitutional development for the Sudan. This period witnessed the emergence of the Graduate Conference, which started to work for a united Sudan and initiated this by opposing Southern Sudan policy. The Conference made it clear that the 'mission curtain' which the missionary societies wanted the Southern Sudan to continue behind could not be defended and, as Mekki Abbas put it: 'Freedom of religion is one of the freedoms for which the United Nations Charter stands, and the Southern Sudanese should be given full freedom to choose the faith they want.'[79]

However, the British authorities responded partially to the claim of the Sudanese Graduate Congress. In 1943, an advisory council was established for Northern Sudan consisting of the governor-general, his secretaries and twenty-eight Northern Sudanese. This was considered a partial victory for the undeclared policy of the mission towards the South. Mission policy towards the South was expressed by MacMichael: 'It is equally understandable that the Christian

mission, fearing the challenge of an increase in Islamic penetration should have used their influence in the direction of separation.'[80]

The question for the European's mission in Sudan was not a simple one of unity or separation, but whether Christianity or Islam should form the basis of civilization. The missions knew that if Christianity could not achieve this aim, then Islam would. The educational and social programme was already largely in missionary hands. A member of the British civil service said of the cultural situation: 'That a primitive, pagan, African culture has very little future at all before it, and does not possess those elements of adaptability and creative innovation, which are the essence of survival value and that its fate must be either slow supervision by and absorption into a higher culture or equally slow but equally certain extinction.' The mission aim was to substitute the African culture with their Christianity, in its European outlook, effecting the Christianization of everything that is valuable in the African's past experience and in his customs.

The mission regarded sovereignty and unity for Sudan as one-way traffic towards Arabism and Islam and the sacrificing of all the Christian investment of hard work and heroic missionaries. The mission failed, at first, to realize that there was room for both European Christianity and Islam in the future Southern Sudan.

From 1946, the mission began to experience successive setbacks in its policy towards Southern Sudan. At first, seventy-three Southern staff signed a letter complaining about conditions: 'We cannot understand what the government means by saying that we are different from the Northern Sudanese although we are all Sudanese. This assertion may be attributed admittedly to our backwardness with the government'.[81]

In December, 1946, James Robertson, Civil Secretary, issued a memorandum pronouncing the final abandonment of the Southern Policy; prohibition of propagation of Islam was theoretically lifted. In May 1947, a special committee of the advisory council for the Northern Sudan, which had been investigating education, came to realize that there could no longer be any question of 'stopping the gradual spread

of Arabic throughout the South'. In the Juba Conference called by the civil secretary in 1947, the Southerners accepted the views of the North in favour of a United Sudan. In 1948, the Governor-General passed the Executive Council and Legislative Assembly ordinance, which provided for the representation of the three Southern provinces in an assembly representing the whole of Sudan.

The Legislative Assembly was formally opened on 15 December, 1948. It was composed of seventy-six Northerners, mostly Umma followers of Sayyed 'Abd al-Raḥmān, plus thirteen Southerners acting as independents, forming no political party. The assembly elected 'Abdullāh Khalīl as its leader, 'in effect Prime Minister'. Sayyid 'Abd al-Raḥm̃an 'Alī Tāha, the first Sudanese Minister of Education, sent a team on 23 December, 1948 to the South to make a preliminary survey. He toured the South himself in June 1949 and ordered the introduction of Arabic in all schools at all levels.

On 12 February, 1953, the Anglo-Egyptian agreement was signed. It provided for the liquidation of the Condominium and Sudanization of all posts in the civil and military services. On the eve of independence the Church began to search for concessions. The Roman Catholics were against the settled sphere system and tried to force the authorities to abolish it. However, the authorities refused to do so because 'it is no exaggeration to say that the "feeling I am a Didinga and a Catholic" and "I am a Nyriote and a Protestant" was growing and intensified, up to the time the Bible churchman's mission was closed down in 1941 . . . I am convinced that if a Protestant mission is reintroduced . . . the latest tribal enmities will flare up again.'[82]

The British legation to the Holy See commented on the feeling of the Roman Catholics towards the independence of Sudan: 'When Libya was not returned to Italy, but was made independent, the Holy See showed no enthusiasm for the attitude of His majesty's government since the change entailed the replacement of a Christian administration by a Moslem one, which is not likely to be so favourable to Catholicism.'[83]

The British Council of Churches pressed for an amendment

in the proposed new constitution 'to further the interest of Christian groups in Sudan and to provide for the right of the individual to change his religion'.[84]

By the end of 1953 a new national Parliament had been elected. On 6 January, 1954, Ismā'īl al-Azharī was elected the first Sudanese Prime Minister. On 20 February, 1954, the Sudanization Committee started work. Before the end of 1954, British employees and District Controllers had been replaced by Sudanese.

In 1954, an international commission on Secondary Education, headed by Sir Charles Norris, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds, asserted that 'education had to deal with problems like the unification of the people, particularly as between north and south, bridging the social, cultural and economic differences, which exist between different regions, eradicating customs and tradition which are reactionary or out of harmony with the new shape of things.'[85]

The commission recommended that the missionary schools should be taken over by the government and that Arabic should be the universal language of instruction in the South.[86] Vernaculars should be discontinued as a medium of instruction at any level of education, being a waste of time. Such vernaculars have no literature content and cannot be used as a cultural medium.

An incident, which was to have a far-reaching consequence in Sudan's future took place in August 1955. The Equatorian Corps, which was established by Wingate in 1910 as a reserve to counter Islam, mutinied and started burning, looting and killing without discrimination and killed 261 Northerners. The government eventually succeeded in getting things under control and an independence project was secured.

In mid-1956, 'Alī 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Minister of Education in the post-Independence Sudanese government, told a meeting of missionaries in Juba that the intention of the government was to unify the education system throughout the country and that this would take five years. The Catholics were stunned, refused to co-operate and started a press campaign against the new Sudanese government. One of these releases described the situation as follows: 'Crisis looms in the Sudan. No personal protection for the mis-

sionaries . . . This is the latest of many blows to the missionary work [in] the newly Independent Sudan . . . From the missionaries' point of view, the situation is rapidly going from bad to worse . . . The problems now arising in the Sudan may well be repeated, as one Islamic people after another gains its independence.'[87]

The Catholic press campaign created international concern about mission education in the Sudan. On 19 June, 1956, a Parliamentary question was put to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs about how far the work of mission schools staffed by British subjects in Southern Sudan had suffered through discrimination since the transference of power? The answer was: 'We do not know of any discrimination against a British mission school in the Southern Sudan. Co-operation between the missions and the Sudanese Government and local administration is at present satisfactory. Some months ago a number of British missionaries were involved in disputes with local authorities or charged with offences before the courts. Six of them (three Catholics and three Anglicans) have been prevented by administrative action from returning to their posts . . . There have been no new cases.'[88]

The unjustifiable Catholic campaign and hostility towards a national secular Sudanese government aroused the suspicions of the intelligentsia. When the mission schools were integrated into the national education system in February 1957 during Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khalīl's government, the Catholics did not hesitate to carry on their campaign. This attitude made them vulnerable to public criticism and governmental attack and when that took place in the 1960s the Catholics realized that they were without sympathizers among the Sudanese society.

The Contribution of Mission Education to Sudanese Social Integration

One of the aims of education is to bring up good citizens qualified to lead and help in the process of nation-building. Religious education should go beyond that to create good character because religion is concerned with human values.

'There was a lack of common educational policy among the missions themselves, hardly any liaison or co-operation, and no guidance from the government . . . The Catholics were full of enthusiasm to teach the simple-minded southern Sudanese the history of the Holy Romanic Empire, to glorify its wars and methods; the Austrian Mission was basically concerned with the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation under German emperors; the Protestants were keen to propagate Martin Luther, Calvinism and the complexities of Western church and culture; the Anglicans were intent on upholding the glory of England. The educational process was reduced to stories of business by biased sects. Cultural chaos prevailed. The student was bombarded with biblical legends, irrelevant syllabus and literature. They created a Sudanese who fits in Europe but not Sudan, a new Sudanese with European mentality, European history and European aspirations.

'Pupils had to accept Christianity before being educated, which automatically debarred the few Muslims, the mass of animists and anyone who could not accept Christian beliefs and doctrines.'[89]

The missionaries who opted to teach in English forgot that Arabic was the official and common language of the Sudan. The graduates of mission schools were unwelcome for governmental jobs in independent Sudan because of their lack of Arabic. Southern students were victims of alien education which condemned them to isolationism. The mission failed to produce trained native teachers, because they were interested only in providing for people fit for priesthood and the clerical ladder. It failed to promote a Southern national identity able to look to the welfare of the whole of the Sudan. It produced an elite deprived of the gift of loving their country and their Northern brothers and lacking stable local character. The mission was generous to Southerners but in the wrong way and the wrong direction. By emphasizing the English language and Christianization, mission education increased existing barriers between the North and the South. Although by the fifties the CMS had accepted the unity of Sudan and there was no question of their missionaries dragging up the 'biased slavery' story it

seems that came too late, as reflected in the 1955 mutiny. For several decades the educated elite had been agitating in an underhand way against the North. The missionaries had sown in the hearts of many the seeds of hatred that were to be with them always and embitter their lives.

The Roman Catholics had been less co-operative with government changes in education than the Protestants.[90] One Christian writer commented: 'It would be, however, foolish to pretend that the missionaries had always acted wisely. For example, the Roman Catholics' hard line on the question of the church's divine rights with regard to education of their members in the South inevitably touched a very sensitive spot.'[91]

'The endless examples of the inadequacies and failures of mission education and the crying need for educated leaders was reflected in the unsuccessful endeavour of the secularization committee to recruit Southern officials for promotion to replace English officials in the field of administration by virtue of qualification. The result was very disappointing, only four assistant district commissioners and two Mamurs were appointed out of more than a hundred available posts. The Southern elite became dispirited not realizing how they were victims of their education. They opposed the rapid replacement of British officials. In 1950, Benjamin Lwoki, reflecting his mission-education, urged against self-government and independence.'[92]

Lilian Passmore Sanderson puts it: 'The Sudanese church is trying to provide a positive resistance ideology against Islam; passive resistance to Islam was seen by southern mission-educated elite as a specifically Christian duty.'[93] It seems the mission had never thought that it was its duty to help the process of integration between North and South.

Notes and References

1. A.L. Kitching, *From Darkness to Light: Pioneer Missionary Work on the Upper Nile,* SPCK, London, 1935, p. 16.

2. Quoted in Lazarus Leek Mawut, *The Southern Sudan, Why Back to Arms?* Khartoum, 1986, p. 15.

3. R.O. Collins, 'The Establishment of Christian Missions and Their Rivalry in the Southern Sudan', *Tarikh,* Vol. 3, No. 11, 1969, p. 38.

4. Ignaz Knoblechar (1819–58), who sent eight Negro youths to Europe for theological training, considered as the first Catholic Vicar Apostolic, died near Naples.

5. Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity, 1800–1914,* Vol. 6, Harper & Row, New York, 1978, pp. 28–30.

6. Church of Rome, *The Black Book of the Sudan, On the Expulsion of the Missionaries from Southern Sudan: An Answer,* Instituto Artigianelli, Milano, Italy, 1964, p. 95.

7. Collins, *Tarikh,* op. cit., p. 39.

8. Antonio Maria Roveggio (1858–1902) prelate of the Roman Catholic Church, entered Khartoum in January 1900. He died at Berber on a train while on his way to Cairo in 1902.

9. James Dempsey, *Mission on the Nile,* Burns & Oates, London, 1955, p. 151.

10. Hussein Zulfakar Sabry, *Sovereignty for Sudan,* Ithaca Press, London, 1982, p. 10.

11. Franz Xaver Geyer (1860–1943), German prelate, ordained priest in 1882, served in Sudan in 1883 and again in 1903 when he was made Vicar Apostolic of Central Africa in succession to Bishop A. Roveggio. He held the post from 1903 to 1921, a period which included the First World War and its difficulties for German and Austrian missionaries. He contributed some studies about Egypt and Sudan. He was one of the founding fathers of the Catholic Church in Sudan.

12. Collins, *Tarikh,* op. cit., pp. 39–40.

13. Sanderson, Lilian Passmore and Sanderson, Neville, *Education, Religion and Politics in Southern Sudan,* London, 1981, p. 61.

14. *The Catholic Encyclopaedia,* XVI, New York, p. 67.

15. The Austrian Mission grew out of the Missionary Institute for Negro-Land, which had been founded by Daniel Comboni in 1867 and had in 1871–72 been changed by Propaganda Fide with the direction of missions to Central Africa.

16. Archbishop Ireneo Wien Dit Akot was born in 1912 at Mbilic Catholic Mission and baptized in 1923. In 1925 he was sent to Wau Catholic schools and consecrated first Archbishop in 1973. However the Holy See deprived him of the post of Metropolitan Archbishop of Khartoum which was given to Mgr. Barnni and Mgr. Zubier. He was evaluated in Catholic circles as not tough enough, and in the political arena he was known for his willingness to co-operate with the government and to distance himself from Catholic endeavours to indulge in politics.

17. Edward Mason, born 1903, worked in Wau Intermediate School 1927–30, Wau Mission 1932–38 and Bahr al-Ghazal mission 1940–47. He was Vicar Apostolic Bahr al-Ghazal 1947–60 and finally at El Obeid, from where he was expelled on 23 March, 1964. He was accused of indulging in politics after thirty-six and a half years of priestly work.

18. Sanderson, op. cit., p. 447.

19. Dempsey, op. cit., p. 106.

20. Cardinal Tissurend declared in October, 1936: 'The work of the Catholic missionary will nobly go hand in hand with the civilizing actions which Italy, under the Fascist government, has already begun in order to restore to the people the civilization of Rome.' Quoted in C.B. Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa,* Vol. 3, London, 1964, p. 142. The Vatican tried to persuade Emperor Haile Selassie to relinquish the throne so as to legalize the Fascist invasion in return for monetary compensation. The Vatican mediator was the future Pope Pius XII, then Cardinal Pacelli, Vatican Secretary of State.

21. Mill Hill's headquarters was in North London. It was founded in August, 1872.

22. W. Wilson Cash, *The Changing Sudan,* Church Missionary Society, London, 1930, p. 74.

23. Robert O. Collins and Francis Ding (eds.), *The British in the Sudan, 1898–1950,* England, 1984, p. 182.

24. Public Record Office, Foreign Office, 371/97044–135147.

25. Cash, op. cit., p. 2.

26. John Kelly Giffin (1853–1932) an American who served in Egypt 1881–99 worked in Khartoum and in Doleib for two years, where he founded a mission station; he died at Khartoum. He was accompanied to Doleib by Dr. McLaughlin and his wife.

27. A.W. Tidrick (1875–1914), an American missionary, studied agriculture at Iowa State College. He came to Doleib in 1906 where he stayed till he died after being mauled by a lion.

28. C.B. Guthrie (1883–1924) served in Doleib from 1908 till his death.

29. Sanderson, op. cit., pp. 28, 29. The CMS was trying to copy the achievement of the Anglican Church of Palestine in Northern Sudan, where the Church doubled in size between 1879 and 1910 to reach a total of 2,323 members, many of them famous Muslims. The CMS was the foremost society in Palestine in mission among Muslims, both in the extent of the work and thoroughness of its organization. Also the steady growth realized there in the Evangelical Church resulted in 197 stations. Their method was that service, prior to preaching, cultivation of friendship, must precede presentation of the Gospel if the Gospel is to have any meaning.

30. Cash, op. cit., p. 57.

31. Sanderson, op. cit., p. 81.

32. Kitching, op. cit., p. 22.

33. Sanderson, op. cit., p. 84.

34. Ibid.

35. Cash, op. cit., p. 82.

36. Charles R. Watson, *The Sorrow and Hope for the Egyptian Sudan,* The Board of Foreign Mission of the United Presbyterians, Philadelphia, 1913, p. 103.

37. H.C. Jackson, *Pastor on the Nile, Being Some Account of the Life and Letters of Llewellyn Henry Gwynne,* SPCK, London, 1960, p. 118.

38. He was Daniel Deng Atong who became a priest in 1926 and in 1955 was consecrated as the first Sudanese Bishop. The Catholics claimed that the first Sudanese priest was their Ireneo Wien Dit Akot who was ordained in 1944, and consecrated in 1955 as the first Sudanese Bishop.

39. Jackson, op. cit., p. 121.

40. The colonial administration favoured the CMS and this was reflected partially in the sphere of influence which was under its control and which constituted the heart of Southern Sudan and which enabled it theoretically to extend its mission to the Ethiopian border, the open sphere, Kenya, Uganda and Zaire to the west upto the Catholic sphere of influence and to the north covering all the Dinka Bor area. But the CMS failed to extend its mission and activities to cover all these areas.

41. F.R. Casey, 'Mission Work in the Southern Sudan as I saw it', in A. Morris Gelsthorpe, *Introducing the Diocese of Sudan,* McCorquodale & Co., London, 1946, p. 33.

42. R.O. Collins, *Shadows in the Grass,* London, 1984, pp. 199–210.

43. Watson, op. cit., p. 160.

44. Ibid.

45. Sanderson, op. cit., p. 390.

46. Ibid.

47. Milham was a British missionary from the Baptist Church, who came to Sudan as early as the 1910s and worked in Sudan till 1945. He died in 1946.

48. Sanderson, op. cit., p. 243.

49. Public Record Office, Foreign Office, 371/24634.

50. Norman Goodall (ed.), *The International Review of Missions,* Vol. 34, New York, 1945, p. 38.

51. In October, 1958, N.V. Nunn of the SIM opposed Muslim religious instruction to 'animist' pupils and the substitution of Friday for Sunday as the day of rest at Melut as 'disobedience of God's rule for the Sabbath'.

52. Collins, *Tarikh,* op. cit., p. 47.

53. Watson, op. cit., p. 186.

54. The Missionary Council of the Church Assembly, *The World Call to the Church, The Call from the Muslim World,* Church House, Westminster, 1926, pp. 58–9, 60, 138.

55. Collins, *Shadows . . . ,* op. cit., p. 212.

56. A third of British officials were sons of clergymen; the Anglican faith was an integral part of their lives, the Anglican religion was a component of their secular life.

57. Collins, *Shadows . . . ,* op. cit., pp. 217–18.

58. Cash, op. cit., pp. 55–66.

59. Sanderson, op. cit., p. 84.

60. J.S. Trimingham, *The Christian Approach to Islam in the Sudan,* Oxford University Press, 1948, p. 37.

61. Public Record Office, Foreign Office, 371/97044. A memo by J.W. Robertson dated 6 December, 1952.

62. Harold MacMichael (1882–1969). Graduated from Cambridge, joined Sudan Civil Service in 1905, where he spent 29 years. On 10 November, 1933 he was appointed Governor of Tarj Angika, a post he held from 1938 to 1944. He was the High Commissioner of Palestine and Trans-Jordan during the time the seeds of Zionism took root and developed. He was appointed Civil Secretary of Sudan in 1926. He was considered to be an authority on Sudanese studies, reflected in his two books, *A History of the Arab in the Sudan* and *The Sudan.*

63. Muddathur Abd-Rahim, *Imperialism and Nationalism in the Sudan: A Study of Constitutional and Political Development, 1899–1956,* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1969, p. 77.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid., p. 74.

67. Collins, *Shadows . . . ,* op. cit., p. 189.

68. Mekki Abbas, *The Sudan Question,* Faber & Faber, London, 1952, p. 176.

69. Public Record Office, Foreign Office, 371/126016–135170. Conversation with Canon Bewes, African Sec., CMS on 17 December, 1957.

70. Another aspect of the Southern Policy was the linguistic and anthropological studies which were carried out by both mission and government.

71. J.D. Page and Roland Oliver, *The Cambridge History of Africa, Vol. 8: 1940–75,* Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 526.

72. Public Record Office, Foreign Office, 371/24634–135170, pp. 2, 3, 4.

73. In 1932, 41 per cent of the Egyptian government employees in Southern Sudan were non-Muslim Copts. Not a single Muslim was allowed to work in the field of education.

74. Public Record Office, Foreign Office, 371/24634–135170, p. 5.

75. Collins, *Shadows . . .* , op. cit., p. 24.

76. Marjorie Hall and Bakhita Amin Ismail, *Sisters Under the Sun: The Story of Sudanese Women,* Longman, London, 1981, p. 220.

77. Public Record Office, Foreign Office, 371/24634, p. 8.

78. Bona Malwal, *People and Power in Sudan: The Struggle for National Stability,* Ithaca Press, London, 1981, pp. 35–6.

79. Abbas, op. cit., p. 180.

80. Harold MacMichael, *The Sudan,* Benn, London, 1954, p. 116.

81. Peter Woodward, 'The South in Sudanese Politics 1946–56', *Middle Eastern Studies,* October 1980, p. 181.

82. Public Record Office, Foreign Office, 371/97044. The Egyptian government denounced on 8 October, 1951 both the 1936 treaty and the Condominium. The Sudan government became without legal basis.

83. Public Record Office, Foreign Office, 371/97044.

84. Ibid., 371/97044–135147. A memo dated 21 May, 1952.

85. Sanderson, op. cit., pp. 339–40.

86. P.M. Holt and M.W. Daly, *The History of the Sudan: From the Coming of Islam to the Present Day,* Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1979, p. 178.

87. Public Record Office, Foreign Office, 371/119686, *Catholic Herald,* 1.6.56.

88. Ibid., 371/119686, Parliamentary Question.

89. Edgar O'Ballange, *The Secret War in the Sudan, 1955–1972,* Faber & Faber, London, 1977, p. 28.

90. Public Record Office, Foreign Office, 371/126016, 135011.

91. Godfrey Morrison, *The Southern Sudan and Eritrea: Aspects of Wider African Problems,* Minority Rights Group No. 5, 1971, p. 14.

92. Collins, *Shadows* . . . , op. cit., pp. 24–5.

93. Sanderson, op. cit., p. 430.

CHAPTER FIVE

A Bad Time for the Mission: The Emergence of the National Movement

The Missionary Venture in the Nuba Mountains

Most inhabitants of the Nuba Mountains district of Western Kordofan are primitive people, pagans, mostly unclothed, their lives largely conditioned by superstitions and ancestral customs. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Islam began to find a place there. Two indigenous Islamic kingdoms flourished around the Nuba, the kingdoms of Tagli and Mushbaat. About 30 per cent of the people accepted Islam whilst the rest remained pagan but liked to live as Muslims. The Roman Catholics were the first to try to counter the gradual expansion of Islam, in their endeavour to find room for Christianity during the regime of the secular Turkish elite. However, before their mission could take root it was disintegrated by the Mahdiyya. European missionaries who tried to resist the Mahdiyya were taken into captivity.

After the Anglo-Egyptian conquest of Sudan, the new administration was reluctant to permit European missions to the Nuba Mountains, partially because Kordofan was considered to be the stronghold of the Mahdiyya and a potential source of Islamic revival. Priority was given to security and pacification. As a result, more Nuba gave witness by interacting with Muslims and embracing Islam.[1]

The Nuba Mountains British administration under J.W. Gillan was appalled by the gradual growth of Islam and sought the mission's help. In the early twenties, they invited the SUM to extend their operation in the Nuba Mountains

province. A governmental grant of £150 was made to the SUM Nuba Mountains work.[2]

The SUM established two missions, in Heban and Abri, in 1920 and 1922. The British administration was not satisfied with SUM efforts nor with the location of their stations. The government considered the two stations to be too isolated to have a dynamic influence on Islam and suggested the establishment of at least six mission stations. When the SUM failed to respond positively to its proposal, the government invited the CMS to open schools with governmental support.

The CMS inaugurated its work by establishing a school in Salara in 1935. In 1936 it opened another three schools, at Tibana, Moru and Koda.[3] In 1934 the Governor of Kordofan, Newbold, said at a missionary conference in the Nuba Mountains: 'The government recognizes that the object of the Mission is evangelization of the people, and the promotion amongst them of an indigenous church, self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating. The Mission recognizes that a strong church necessitates a literate people and that education is therefore an essential part of evangelization . . . Although the Sudan Government is pledged not to use its authority to evangelize, or destroy Islam, its senior executive and technical officers are British and therefore Christians, and the whole of its administration must and does derive from the ethic of Christianity. This is the spiritual legacy which Gordon bequeathed to the Sudan'.[4]

Newbold was annoyed by the CMS behaviour, whose primary concern was conversion not education; it seems that in 1935, he reached a compromise: 'I got hold of the secretaries of the Missions and told them our ideals and they played up and scrapped much of their outworn fetishes and we produced a policy of national Christianization and idealism for the Nuba on an indigenous basis. Whether it will work depends on how much they and we believe in it'.[5]

The missionaries in the Nuba Mountains adopted the practice of teaching Arabic in Roman characters, as some defence against the Qur'ān and Islam. This method had been used by the Catholics in Wau till May, 1930. The government realized that the practice of teaching Arabic in Roman characters had failed and that the material advance of the

Nuba and the advance of Islam among them had far outstripped Christianization. The Government resorted to establishing 'Boy Scout schools', where religious instruction was replaced by the Baden-Powell gospel: honesty, discipline. These schools persisted until the early 1930s. During 1936–39 the government opened four secular schools, at Salara, Koda, Katcha and Abri and appointed Christian Copts to run them. Teaching of Christianity in these schools came to a standstill in 1939.

The CMS station at Salara continued to operate with four missionaries, a chaplain and teacher, a woman doctor and a nurse. The Katcha station was under the care of R.S. MacDonald and his wife Catherine, who was in charge of medical work. The CMS work reached its peak with the inauguration of Katcha Intermediate School and a girls' elementary school in 1946.[6] The medical work of the CMS among the people of the Nuba Mountains had advanced with the opening of a new dispensary building in 1940. Seventeen women were trained by CMS as district workers.[7] In 1941 the SUM in an attempt to increase the number of village schools to counter Islam, opened a training centre for selected students to train village teachers as a starting point for the spread of Christian influence to the whole Nuba Mountains area.[8]

In the 1940s the government realized that mission education with its emphasis on religious instruction was helping to increase social tensions, segregation mentality and was a hindrance for economic and social progress. Government schools for the Nuba are now being instituted in both districts to supplement mission vernacular teaching. Students are free to have religious instruction of their choice – Islam, Christianity or neither.

In 1947, a new factor which threatened to undermine the policy of the government towards the Nuba emerged – Shaikh Muhammad al-Amīn al-Qurashī's declaration that he intended to start an Islamic mission among the Nuba. The English local authorities were appalled but could do nothing to stop him at a time of nationalistic revival with the government preparing for the inauguration of the Legal Assembly.

Shaikh al-Qurashī started his Islamic campaign among the Nuba in the early 1950s. That year the Legal Assembly discussed governmental grants to the mission. The Assembly realized that the government was funding Christian mission ten times more than Islamic institutions though the money was collected mostly from Muslim taxation. The Legal Assembly supported Shaikh al-Qurashī and pressured the Civil Secretary to allow Islamic mission among the Nuba. The Civil Secretary gave his permission reluctantly. The Nuba welcomed the first Islamic mission, thousands deserted Christianity and embraced Islam. On one occasion, all the students at Salara – the biggest CMS station – embraced Islam. The local priest, realizing that all the effort and harvest of decades had been taken in a moment by Islam, was so shocked that he collapsed. Shaikh al-Qurashī perpetuated the incident in a famous Arabic poem – *The Beautiful Salara* – and its meaning runs like this:

> Go forward, brother, declare your Islam:
> 'I am a Muslim!' Declare it,
> Let the whole of your family know.
> Declare it: I am a young Muslim,
> I have embraced Islam, unwavering,
> It is Islam for the Nuba Mountains,
> Islam they were eagerly embracing.
> Once more the mountains all are witnessing:
> No god at all but Allah, Allah,
> And Muhammad, His mighty Messenger.[9]

The mission throughout Sudan was shaken, the British local administration though provoked could do nothing, the situation in Sudan was changing. The Central Government sent the first Sudanese Education Minister and the British District Commissioner to investigate and advise. When they arrived, all the 149 former Christian students insisted that they were Muslims, and pressed for the removal of the priest. The government could do nothing save request the British priest to evacuate.[10]

The missionaries were very upset because the Salara episode exposed how the nominal process of Christianization

throughout Sudan was vulnerable to Islam in a changing situation. In the post-independence era, the Nuba Mountains witnessed a general mass movement towards Arabism and Islamism. This movement reached its climax when indigenous priests started to desert for Islam in the 1970s.

The Mission Between the Two World Wars

Rev. Trimingham, commenting on the mission growth in Sudan between the two World Wars, said: 'The development of missionary work in the Muslims' Sudan has been rather opportunist in character. Opportunity has been seized for establishing educational and social welfare institutions whenever the way opened. A future Sudanese church was never fully anticipated and missionary work planned in relation to it. The result is that the work has been lop-sided and rigid in form.'

The CMS was active in securing from Lord Cromer recognition of the mission schools in Muslim Sudan as part of the official educational system, by placing them under government inspection, and allowing them to receive state grants. In 1912 the government gave a large plot of land in Omdurman to the society for a hospital near the former headquarters of the Mahdī and his *Khalīfa.* In 1921 two doctors joined. Dr. Lavy came from Baghdad with much experience of Muslim evangelism and a good knowledge of Arabic and Dr. Worsely came from Palestine and showed a genius for colloquial Arabic. From 1928 the government very generously offered the society a grant of £500 a year towards the hospital expenses.[11] So the missionary hospital was sponsored by the Sudan's Muslim taxpayer.

The CMS carried its policies and programme to win the Muslims to Christianity and to strengthen the Coptic community. A school was established in the old Christian quarter of Omdurman. The inhabitants were Islamized and the missionaries found no desire on their part to return to the Christian fold. They had become assimilated to the Muslim way of life and absorbed into the religion. The school was an effort to introduce Christian influence among them. The CMS opened some Bible classes for Muslim children in

Christian schools. The statistics of CMS schools in 1929 show that, at Omdurman, there was one primary school and two nursery schools with 350 students. At Atbara, the railway headquarters, there was one primary school and two nursery schools with 340 students and a primary school at Wad Medani. The CMS put much emphasis on girls' education, believing in a woman's influence upon home life. There were 850 girls in its schools in 1922, slightly below the total number in all governmental schools in the Sudan, and that did not include girls in American mission schools.[12] In 1945 there were 1,336 girls in various mission schools.

Boys' school work was left to the American Mission. The CMS and the American Mission, under Bishop Gwynne and Dr. Giffin, operated closely so that the work of one might complement the other.[13] The majority of the pupils in the schools were Muslim Sudanese, but alongside them were Christian Copts, Syrians, Armenians and others. All were taught the Bible as the mission schools were based on Christian ethical teaching.

Bishop Gwynne in an endeavour to introduce Christianity to a segment of the Muslim society, initiated a programme of inviting beggars and lepers to his house garden every Saturday morning, where he gave a simple address and each received a small gift.[14]

The CMS adopted a policy of expansionism in the Northern Sudan or, as it was put by Trimingham: 'It is our task in the North to prepare for that . . . When Christianity becomes the official religion of the South . . . To establish Christian centres in all borderlands where Islam is in contact with paganism; and to establish Christian centres in the lands of entrenched Islam, so that the Christianity of the South will have points of contact when it flows northwards.'

To tour the North, a railway church was built for the CMS. Costing £3,000, it was linked to a train and a register of service and a log book were kept in the saloon. Over 300,000 miles were travelled, 350 services held, 2,000 people communicated. Side by side with that, a project of building a huge and magnificent church in each Muslim Sudanese city centre was undertaken so as to give the overall Islamic character a Christian stamp. In 1930, St. Paul's Church was

built in Wad Medani the headquarters of the central region. At that time there was no indigenous Christian community. The church was built in local grey granite with a roof of red tiles, a clock tower and a bell, altar rails, a prayer desk and cost £14,000. The church was located in a strategic area between the town centre and the Blue Nile.

St. Peter's Church, El Obeid: On 7 February, 1932, a governmental building was dedicated to the CMS, to be St. Peter's Church. The building was renovated and fitted by the Church. Some Muslims would still like to see this building converted to its original use as a governmental building.

Atbara Church: The church was dedicated to the memory of Philip the Deacon. The consecration of the church is the consummation of a generation of railway men who served in the Sudan, and have kept the flag of the Christian ideal flying in spite of many difficulties and drawbacks.

St. Mary's Church, Wadi Halfa: Originally an army rest house, the building was given to the Church in 1926 to be converted into a church.

Christ Church of Port Sudan: Consecrated on 4 March, 1932 by Bishop Gwynne, Missions to Seamen Institute, opened by John Maffey, the Governor-General of Sudan in February, 1929.

The other important change in Church policy took place when Southerners and Nuba Mountains dwellers crossed the colonial policy barrier and trekked north during the Second World War. They went to the Northern centres in search of work, out of a spirit of adventure and introduced themselves and their cause to the North. The missions co-ordinated their efforts to take care of these newcomers and they were absorbed. Clubs were opened in Khartoum and Omdurman in 1942 and later a hostel in Omdurman.

In 1943 the first four Southerners were baptized in Omdurman, and the missionary work was intensified among them. The mission started to look for a new venture, to set up a

church of Sudanese converted from paganism in the North. 'All the established institutions then fell into place, for they were now thought of in their relationship to a future Sudanese church and the patient work of the past acquired a new significance.'[15]

The flow of Southerners to the North induced the Protestants to co-ordinate their efforts to bring a united Christian centre as an inter-mission enterprise in Omdurman, to meet the Southerners' needs. The Centre consisted of a church, hall, club, and hostel for Southerner Pastors' houses, library centre (YMCA), a women's centre and sports area. Clubs and hostels were established in all major Sudanese cities, or wherever there were some Nuba and Southerners. The mission alerted their resources and exerted themselves to provide for these emigrants social gatherings, financial help, medical care, education and all other means to distract them from the Northern tradition and atmosphere. In 1955 there were 311,000 Southerners in Northern Sudan, in 1956 there were 569,488.[16]

The new mission strategy coincided with a major political development – the emergence of the national movement. In 1938, a Sudanese lawyer invited Sudanese intelligentsia to co-operate in a unified forum, so as to give intellectual insight and moral support to the nation. The result was what came to be known as the Sudanese Graduate Congress which provided leadership for the nation and helped push forward the process of independence. It did not take the Congress long to realize the destructive effects of Southern policy, the missionary enterprise and their far-reaching repercussions. In April 1942, the Congress submitted a memorandum to the Sudan government, demanding:

1. The issue, at the first possible opportunity, by the British and Egyptian governments, of a joint declaration granting the Sudan the right of self-determination.
2. Sudanization of civil and military services.
3. The promulgation of legislation defining Sudanese nationality.
4. The abolition of ordinances on 'closed areas' and the lifting of restrictions placed on trade and on the movements of Sudanese within the Sudan.

5. The cancellation of subventions to missionary schools and the unification of syllabuses in Northern and Southern Sudan.[17]

The Congress, the national movement, fighting not only the colonial administration but also the missions, realized that it had to deal with such matters as the Southern Policy, Christian education, mission strategy of marginalizing the Islamic culture and identity, and the undermining of the Islamic social system. The Congress acted by initiating an enterprise of indigenous national education. The campaign was accompanied by a national discourse, public addresses, a press campaign, an anthem and rallying songs. The content of the discourse urged Sudanese not to compromise their religion, culture and way of life by seeking admission to mission schools and invited the people to establish their own schools, so as to preserve their culture and tradition. One of the fruits of the campaign was the Ahliya indigenous school.

The Emergence of *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*: Muslim Brothers

The work of the mission, with its agitative nature in an Islamic Sudanese society, contributed in paving the way for the appearance of a more militant Islam in Sudan. The efforts of the American Mission to Christianize Muslims led partially to the gradual emergence of the *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* movement, one of the components of the modern national Islamic movement in Sudan.

The story which exposed how the American Mission seduced a young Muslim girl to convert to Christianity came about when a terrified old man pushed to the front of the Graduate Congress and started to shout in a hysterical way that his young daughter was being Christianized, and was being taken by the mission to the British District Commissioner's house. The man who took up the issue and initiated the campaign which restored the young girl to her family was Sayyid 'Alī Ṭālib Allāh, a member of the Ashiqqā' – full brothers – the mainstream of the Congress. 'Alī was so moved by this experience, that he began to feel that

colonialism was represented not only in the conquering British Army but also in the efforts of the missionaries to destroy Islam. ʻAlī came to the conclusion that political efforts were not enough to liberate the soul and defend the culture. It was no surprise therefore that ʻAlī eventually emerged as the Amir – the leader – of *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn,* in the late 1940s, when he was contacted by a delegation of Egyptian *Ikhwān* to help establish a branch in Sudan to look out for the welfare of the Muslim community. About this time the elite became more confused, when they realized that the missions were the obvious cause of the South's antagonism to the North and its Islamic culture. The missions were taking advantage of their exclusive monopoly of education and social services to plant the seeds of aversion and enmity. Stories of how the Southerners were compelled to take names such as 'Philip', 'Garang' or mere numbers, e.g. 313 or 314 as an alternative to their local names inflamed the imagination of the Northerners against both the mission and its counterpart the colonial administration.

In this atmosphere the Islamic Liberation Movement took root among students. This movement outstripped the *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*'s growth and has of late taken its name and its members to become the main modern Islamic movement in Sudan.

The mission suffered its first serious setback in 1948, when the first Sudanese Education Minister introduced Arabic as a subject in the mission schools. This step began the process which came to its logical conclusion with the partial nationalization of mission education in Southern Sudan by Sayyid Ziyāda Arbāb in 1957.

The Mission: From Growth Strategies to Survival Ones – 1964–1973

On 27 February, 1964, the Sudanese Council of Ministers agreed to:

1. Repatriation of all foreign priests and missionaries in the three Southern provinces.

2. Taking of measures to help in the Sudanization of the Church, giving financial assistance to Sudanese priests and to qualify them for their various religious posts.
3. Restriction of foreign merchants' operation to the district and province headquarters only.

The reasons which were given later for the expulsion were:

1. Working inside and outside the Sudan, against the stability and the internal security of the country, by spreading false information against the government, abetting citizens to leave Sudan to join the resistance movement, abetting students to strike and assault their Northern teachers and by giving shelter and provision to mutineers.

2. The interference of foreign missionaries in the internal affairs of the country and their participation in local politics, such as: inciting for the separation of the South, preaching against the change of weekly holiday, preaching against the settlement of Northerners in the South and trying to influence the electorate during elections.

3. Breaking the laws by a massive trade in drugs without licence, teaching Christianity to Muslim children and baptizing them without the consent of their families, prompting citizens to pray for the victory of the mutineers, and building churches without permission.

The government carried out the repatriation in eleven days, 27 February – 8 March, 1964.

The Vatican was stunned by the harsh measures: the Catholics never imagined that a state that had existed for only eight years would challenge the authority of the Vatican and resort to such a measure as the massive expulsion operation. The Vatican believed that its dominance among world powers provided it with immunity and protection. The Vatican committed an even more serious blunder by underestimating the state-power and its ability to retaliate. Such disesteem was reflected in the unduly aggressive press campaign against the policies of nationalist and post-colonial era regimes. In 1957, when the minister of education negotiated with the Church leaders in Sudan upon the

willingness of the government to nationalize education in Southern Sudan, the Catholic representatives declined to co-operate, on the pretext that they were only trustees and that all rights were with the Holy See, though they knew that the Vatican had neither a contract nor diplomatic relations with the Sudan. The Catholic institutions in Sudan were established by priests and missionaries without any reference to the Holy See or agreement with the Sudanese government. The Protestants were more co-operative. The American Mission representative commented promptly to the meeting: 'It was the sort of thing which happened everywhere, it happened in my own country, and I had been expecting it in the Sudan'.[18]

When the Catholics were expelled, they came to know that what brought about their expulsion was their hard-line attitude, that it is better to be flexible because flexibility at least provides a chance of dialogue and better understanding whereas aggressiveness leads to a deadlock.

The Catholics' aggressive campaign against successive governments, which by any standard were very tolerant towards the Christian activities, incurred the anger and bitterness of all national forces. The expulsion decision was welcomed by even the Sudanese opposition and anti-military ruling Junta national forces. The Christian media persisted in repeating throughout the post colonial era 1954–64 that the North was trying to impose Islam and eradicate Christianity. Such claims were mere fantasy; these successive governments were quite secular. Their only crime was their endeavour to redress the balance, by introducing Arabic language, eliminating Southern policy and accommodating Islam.

The Church failed to change its pre-independence mentality. It failed to recognize that the South was no longer closed to the North and a convert to Islam was no longer a lost soul. No longer did the Southerner express his dynamic of self-assertiveness in the denial of Islam.

Yet, after all these measures some Church personnel remained in Sudan. The expulsion was partial, there were still 200 foreign European missionaries left in the North to administer Church property and to take care of the 10,000 students, most of them Muslims, in their schools.

The Holy See's Reaction

The Vatican was at a loss; a century of hard work seemed at risk. On 10 March, the Pope when he received the expelled missionaries, said: 'With great distress we have followed all the developments of the situation, which has now reached this great crisis . . . We want to cherish and at once express the hope that the Sudanese authorities will re-examine the whole question with calm objectivity'.[19]

Bishop S. Mazzoldi, ex-Vicar Apostolic of Juba, Rev. D. Ferrara and Rev. H. Te Riele sent a letter to the Minister of the Interior on 8 March, 1964: 'We, the undersigned, have been appointed by His Holiness the Pope to head the local churches in the South and still remain in our office, even if deported, until His Holiness the Pope decides otherwise . . . Your Excellency finally passes on to say that missionaries had "embarked on a campaign of slander, disseminating lies and distorted facts". We must suppose that Your Excellency refers to the international press which is highly esteemed in free countries. Besides, if the deported missionaries are interviewed by the press, they necessarily speak the truth as they see it.'[20]

The Catholics hinted that they were not even given time to close their churches and to hand them over and no time to do anything else.[21] The Anglican account was different: 'There were only three married couples of the CMS Gordon Memorial Sudan Mission in the whole of the South at the time of the deportation order. In each case they were given time to pack their personal belongings for which we are grateful to the authorities.'

In another letter the Catholics said: 'We, the Catholic missionaries deported from Sudan, as a consequence of the decision made by the Council of Ministers of Khartoum on 26 February, 1964, affirm that the reason for which the Sudanese government has removed us from the country . . . is that it does not want to have evidence to the measures of violent repression and retaliation which the Arab police and soldiers have already started, against the innocent population of the "closed" districts and which have the technical form of genocide.'[22] The Pope himself sent a letter

asking the United Nations to intervene, but the Sudan government faced all outside pressures unflinchingly, insisting that the issue of restoring foreign missions was a lost cause.

When this pressure failed to work, the Catholics again started active propaganda both inside and outside Africa, attempting to canvass and rally African sentiment against the 'Islamic colonisers'.[23] Some of the expelled missionaries became involved in an active crusade against Sudan. Many settled in immigrants' camps near the Sudanese border in Zaire, Uganda and Central Africa.

In Southern Sudan, a mass exodus to the African states began. The World Christian Organization provided them with accommodation, food and social services. Seventy per cent of the emigrants were Catholics. The number and distribution of Sudanese refugees in 1964–69 was as follows:[24]

Host country	Jan. 1964	Jan. 1965	Jan. 1966	Jan. 1967	Jan. 1968	Jan. 1969
Congo (Zaire)	8,000	8,000	22,000	33,000	40,000	65,500
Central African Republic	—	300	17,000	27,000	21,000	19,000
Uganda	5,000	12,000	44,000	55,000	60,000	71,500
Ethiopia	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	13,000	20,300	83,000	115,000	121,000	156,000

The Anglican Reaction

In May, 1964, General Abboud, Sudan Head of State, visited Britain and his visit brought an angry reaction from the CMS general secretary Dr. John Taylor, who said that some CMS members found it perplexing and repugnant that the Sudan State Party should be received by the government, and incidentally, at Westminster Abbey. Expulsion constituted an affront to basic human rights and liberties.[25]

Khartoum's policy towards the South again came under attack, this time from the political forces at the University of Khartoum and particularly the Islamic Tendency Movement who dominated the university student union. The student union spearheaded a campaign for the restoration of democracy to Sudan. The campaign escalated in a few weeks from a group discussion to a popular uprising. The army supported the popular demand for the restoration of democracy. On 30 October, 1964 a new caretaker government was formed.

The Southern Movement with its Christian bias failed to respond positively to the new political developments taking place in Khartoum. This was partly due to the fact that the Church had already worked out a deal with the Junta with the help of Lebanon.

The situation changed rapidly from February, 1965. On 10 February, the Queen of England[26] visited Sudan at a time of internal crisis and dispute. The situation of the Southern Movement became chaotic. In the post-1964 uprising, they were divided between military and political forces, separatists with Catholic bias, federalists and reformists. There were also those who functioned within the Khartoum arena, the Southern arena and the exiles' arena. There were also different principal sources of funds and materials – Israel, France, Italy, Belgium and Scandinavia. The Southern Front Party was formed in Khartoum after the 1964 uprising, under the leadership of Mr. Clement Moboro – a Catholic Belande who became the Interior Minister. The international Catholic press was far from reconciliatory, though the Pope appealed for peace in the Sudan. On 27 August, 1965 the *Catholic Herald* published an article entitled 'Fire and Sword in the Sudan'. The same paper, on 22 October, 1965 talked about a 'bid to wipe out Christians in the Sudan'.

The hottest issues of the post-uprising period were the Islamic constitution and the civil war. The Round Table Conference was a governmental endeavour to find ways out of the war. It opened at Khartoum on 16 March, 1965. It was attended by the two wings of SANU, the Southern Front and the Northern parties. After a long debate and discussion

the conference opted for a regional government system throughout Sudan. The Joseph Uduhu Catholic Section – Saturnio Lohure, George Kwani, Pancrasio Ocheng and Marko Rume – boycotted the conference and its findings. They founded the Azania Liberation Front. William Deng's section of SANU opted for regional government and entered into the New Forces Congress with the Umma's Saddiq section and the Charter of Islamic Front. William Deng accepted the Alliance election manifesto of the geographical implementation of *Sharī'ah* – Islamic laws – to the exclusion of the South. Deng was killed while canvassing for the election.

On 5 August, 1965, the Roman Catholic Father Augustino of Livia station was accused of supplying food and military equipment to Nepal.[27] Early in 1966, the Sudan Council of Churches was established including the Armenian, Ethiopian, Orthodox, Roman Catholic Evangelical and Episcopal Anglican Churches. It was the first time the Catholics had joined a common platform with other Churches.

One of the first resolutions of the SCC was to observe Sunday, 6 February, 1966, as a day of Prayer for Sudan, with particular attention to the problems in the South. The move was calculated to rally Christian sentiment behind the rebels and to attract world attention.

On 17 February, 1966, the World Council of Churches consulted the All African Conference of Churches (AACC) on steps to alleviate the suffering of Christians in Southern Sudan. The initiative was approved by 100 members of the central committee at its closing session; reference was also made to the massacres in Southern Sudan. Muḥammad Aḥmad Mahjoub, Sudan's Prime Minister, referring to the WCC, said: 'This is yet another red herring, professional religionists prey on man's distress everywhere'.[28]

On 10 April, 1966, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Heenan, invited the Catholic Women's League Relief and Refugee Committee to open a fund for persecuted Christians in Southern Sudan. 'The tragedy in Sudan has received scant publicity . . . Half a million innocents have been driven from their homes and forced to seek refuge in the forests or the protection of

neighbouring countries . . . Clergy of all denominations have had to abandon their missions and these have been set on fire by government troops.'

On 12 December, 1966, a delegation of the AACC invited by the Sudan government, visited Khartoum, met with Church leaders and government, and demanded revision of the 1962 Missionary Act. The delegation stayed three days in the South, a day in each province. The Sudan government agreed to accept African missionaries from African countries. The AACC report was contested in some quarters, especially by the Catholic Verona Fathers.

The CMS adopted a policy of co-operation with the government of Ṣādiq al-Mahdī who became Prime Minister of Sudan on 27 July, 1966. He appealed to Southern Sudanese refugees in East Africa to return and work with him.[29] *The Times* of 28 July, 1966 published the news: 'An Oxford graduate becomes Prime Minister of the Sudan.' The Catholic *Frontier Call,* Autumn 1966, published an article entitled 'A New Government and a New Hope for Southern Sudan.' In October, 1966, al-Mahdī again issued a statement asking the refugees to return to the Sudan, promising them a peaceful solution. On Friday, 5 November, 1966, the Ugandan authorities arrested Mr. Ibrahim Ijigilo, President of the Sudan Christian Association and Mr. George Akumbek Ikwanei, Secretary for Information of the Azania Liberation Front.

In December, 1966, the Sudan government sought the Pope's help in softening the aggressive attitude of the Catholic faction of the rebels. Rev. O. Allison, Bishop of the Anglican Church of Sudan, urged Southern Sudanese refugee students to return home.[30]

On 10 January, 1968, President Ismā'īl al-Azharī officially announced that all persons who had taken part in the 'anti-Government uprising' including the Sudanese who had fled from the South, would be granted an amnesty if they returned and gave themselves up. 1968 and 1969 were characterized by chaos, party divisions and internal struggle. The Umma Party split into two factions: Imām al-Hādī group and Sādiq group. The Communists were officially banned though they were gaining popularity and their leader,

Mahjoub, contested the election and won a seat in Parliament. On 5 May, 1968, William Deng, President of SANU, and six of his followers were ambushed and killed on the road from Rumbek to Wau by outlaws. Before that, on 22 February, 1968, Sayyid 'Alī al-Murghānī, Sudanese leader of the *Khatmia* sect, died. Political disturbances and demonstrations ensued and led to the closure of Khartoum University when a student was killed by left-wing students. Some Muslim brothers contested the leadership of Dr. Turabi and brought disruption to the Islamic Charter Front. Many prominent Sudanese politicians failed to retain their seats in the 1968 Parliamentary election.

The government's greatest achievement, which caught world attention, was in bringing Arab heads of state to an Arab Summit meeting in Khartoum on 29 August, 1967, after defeat in the Six-Day War against Israel. During the summit meeting the Sudanese leadership succeeded in bringing Nasser and Faisal together to put an end to the Yemen war. The other major success was the general consensus on the issue of an Islamic constitution. But this antagonized the West, the Church, the communists, the secularists and mission-educated Southern elite. All these forces were ready to bless any secularist saviour and were looking for secular political change.

On 25 May, 1969, a military Junta, a copy of the Egyptian Free Officers model, headed by Numeiry – the pragmatist – and composed of Nasserists and communists overthrew the democratic government in a bloodless coup.[31]

For a month, the Christian media seemed to deliberately obscure what was happening in Sudan, though the country was the focus of the world's media. *Missions* (Summer, 11, 1969) published an article about Sudan – 'Civil War or Genocide'. From March, 1970, a co-ordinated campaign began in the Western media, raising the question of the civil war in Southern Sudan. *The Sunday Times,* 1.3.1970: 'Biafra Tragedy Threatens South Sudan Rebels'; *Daily Mail,* 2.3.1970: 'Tucked Away in Africa . . . Race War Threat to a New Biafra'; The Catholic *The Universe,* 6.3.1970: 'The "Forgotten War" Refugees Flee South'.

The internal revolt of the *Anṣār* – a Muslim sect – held

the attention of the Western media for a month: *The Independent,* 10.5.1970: 'Sudan Opens Door for Christian Education'; *Daily World,* 26.6.1970: 'U.S. Makes New Biafra Try in Sudan'; *The Church of Ireland Gazette,* 2.6.1970: 'The Sudan'; *Catholic Herald,* 23.10.1970: 'Church a Scapegoat in Sudan Troubles'.

The coming of the military Junta coincided with a decline in the power of the rebel movement which was plagued with disunity, personal and religious conflict. Interested powers tried to prolong the Sudan's ordeal with the help of Rolf Steiner.[32] Steiner went to Rome, where he met some Catholic missionaries who had been repatriated six years earlier.[33] There he was advised to meet Father Gyphens in Frankfurt. Gyphens was responsible for a society concerned with helping Africa, 'Forederung Sqesels Chaft Afrika, FGA', which was committed to Biafra like various other Catholic movements which were busy collecting money throughout America and Europe. The FGA had sizeable sums of money available and wanted to sponsor the Southern Sudan war. Its budget was growing at about a million marks a year.[34]

Gyphens arranged the deal for Steiner. He booked him onto the next flight for Kampala, from where the FGA local manager arranged a secret flight in a small plane to Sudan across the Ugandan border. This same general manager had been concerned with the Biafra conflict and the missionary relief activities there. Steiner landed on a Sudanese rebel-held grass airstrip where he was met by fifty guerrilla fighters. He was later introduced to their leader, General Taffing. However, Steiner was not impressed by the Southerners. He treated them with contempt and said that they 'lived like animals, and the women didn't even have pots to cook in . . . and they engaged in war against each other.'[35]

Two other influences among the Protestant faction of the rebels were exposed to Steiner: the Israelis who were supporting Joseph Lague and the British who were offering to set up a military camp.[36]

From 1971, the Anya Nya propaganda tended to have a Catholic tone and anti-communist bias. In one of their general announcements they quoted Cardinal Bernard Alfrink, Amsterdam's Roman Catholic Primate, as saying: 'For

years the Moslems have been trying to expel the autochthonous Africans, many of whom are Christians. The tension there is just as grave as in South Africa, but one is more successful in camouflaging it. There is a conspiracy of silence about this problem in the world press.'[37] Another pamphlet, produced by Anya Nya, No. 5, August, 1971: 'Atrocities [committed by] Arabs, Russians and East Germans. The only observers who had cameras were the Russians and East Germans. These mass murders and castration took place in April–May, 1971, in the Akobo-Nasir region of Upper Nile Province'. Another one runs like this: 'Our only resources are human. Ours are the only people in the world still being captured and sold into slavery [by] Sudanese Arab merchants to the Arabian peninsula . . . We employ no mercenaries yet we are fighting Sudan's mercenary army – 3,000 Egyptians, 1,000 Soviets.'[38]

Steiner's most prominent achievement was his relative success in bringing the different factions of Anya Nya under the unified command of General Joseph Lague. That was done after he arranged a conference of all the Anya Nya leaders in Kampala under the supervision of General Idi Amin, the future President of Uganda. He spent a year constructing military zones, covered by radio, enabling 10,000 men to be involved in the guerrilla operations. However, for an unknown reason, Milton Obote had Steiner arrested and handed him over to Sudan and that was a severe blow for the rebel movement.

At this juncture, in May 1971, a Church delegation representing WCC/AACC visited both South and North Sudan and mediated for peace. At that time the Sudanese government was ready to talk. The government representative, Abel Alior[39] had an audience with Pope Paul VI at the Vatican.[40] They negotiated aid to Southern Sudan and assessed ways of bringing about a reconciliation. The delegation then approached heads of state in Africa to sell the idea of peace to the Sudan government and to appeal to the Anya Nya to accept an invitation the Sudan might extend through the Churches.[41] The WCC contacted Madingie Garang and Lawrence Wol Wol, representatives of the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement in Europe, and also the other pockets in Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and Zaire in August, 1971.

Addis Ababa was chosen for the preliminary talks. The Sudan government was represented by Mr. Abel Alior, Vice-President of the Sudan, Major General Mohammad al-Baghir, Minister of Internal Affairs and representatives of the Southern Movement, Mading, Wol, and Elisapana Mula. The WCC and AACC were represented by Dr. Leopoldo Niilus, Rev. Kodwo Ankrah, Canon Burgess and Samuel Bwogo of the Sudan Council of Churches.

Talks started on 20 January, 1972, under the auspices of Haile Selassie. General Joseph Lague nominated eight persons representing various shades of SSLM. After two weeks of negotiations, in the presence of Canon Burgess the Secretary General of AACC, an agreement was reached on 28 February, 1972, for autonomy for Southern Sudan within the Republic of Sudan.

The agreement was controversial in Sudanese circles. However it brought peace to Sudan. The Catholics were hesitant to bless the agreement. They were under-represented in the peace talks and felt that they were betrayed by other non-Catholic Southern elements. The governmental side was led by Anglican Dinka Abel Alior. The mutineers were led by Joseph Lague, of the Anglican Latuka tribe of Eastern Equatoria.[42] The Unionists like the national guards and the Muslims were the victims of the agreement. They were disarmed, looked upon as traitors, and denied governmental jobs. Some mosques were converted into governmental institutions or entertainment halls. The Muslim emissaries were either taken by the army or the regional government ministry of education. Northern teachers were expelled. English became the official language of communication and many schools reverted to the old days of English and local vernacular. Arabic was put at a disadvantage.

The agreement had international repercussions. Idi Amin expelled 700 Israelis from Uganda. Israel was one of the main sympathizers with the Southern Secessionists. General Amin had recognized that he needed to be on good terms with his neighbours. *The Times,* 4 April, 1972, in a leading article described the agreement as 'A Setback for Israel in Africa'.

The Church from Survival to Revival 1973–78

The Church emerged as the main patron of the ruling military Junta after 1972.[43] The Catholics realized that there was a golden opportunity to gain much from the Addis Ababa agreement. They changed their negative attitude against the Accord and began a campaign to support its implementation. For the first time Sudan started diplomatic relations with the Vatican. In August, 1972, Pope Paul VI received Sayyid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Hāshim as Sudan's Ambassador to the Vatican. The Vatican appointed an Archbishop as its Apostolic Mission Ambassador to Sudan. Bishop B.A. Baroni[44] of Khartoum travelled to Europe and North and South America to mobilize the Catholic resources to the new opportunities for Catholic work now open in Sudan, and to explain the needs of the Southern people in the fields of resettlement, rehabilitation and regeneration of the Church and its buildings. In September, 1972, 'Sudan Aid' was launched by the Conference of Catholic Bishops as a provisional Catholic charity organization, under the guidance of Fr. A. Dejemeppe a Belgian White Father, to help the Southern Christians.

Another international organization, the Catholic Relief Services (CRS), was working in Europe and the Americas. It opened its headquarters in Khartoum and started to operate in the South. Tens of Catholic missionaries, doctors, experts, etc. came to Sudan as representatives of Catholic charities. The Catholic Press Institute in Juba was regenerated and began to publish two papers, *Messenger* in English and *Al-Salamin* in Arabic. In 1982, the Press was put under the administration of the Salesians of Don Bosco.

The efforts of foreign and internal Churches and organizations were co-ordinated by the Sudan Council of Churches Commission on Relief and Rehabilitation (SCCCRR) with a monthly expatriates' payroll of $56,000.[45] The World Council of Churches had some success in attracting Church organizations to participate in Southern Sudan's relief and rehabilitation programme. The list of participating agencies included:

1. Basel Mission (Kooperation Evangelischer und Missionen) Switzerland – 3 expatriates.
2. Christian Aid, Britain – 1 expatriate.
3. Church World Service, USA – 12 expatriates.
4. Dan Church Aid, Denmark – 4 expatriates.
5. *Dienste over Chenzen, the Netherlands.*
6. Dienste in Uebersee, Federal Republic of Germany – 2 expatriates.
7. Mennonite Central Committee, USA and Canada – 11 expatriates.
8. Lutheran World Federation, Geneva.
9. National Christian Council of Kenya – 2 expatriates.
10. Norwegian Church Relief, Norway.
11. United Presbyterian Church (The Program Agency) USA – 2 expatriates.
12. National Christian Church of Kenya – 2 expatriates.
13. Church Missionary Society – 1 expatriate.
14. Roman Catholic – 7 expatriates.

All these organizations worked under the supervision of SCCCRR. Some of them provided money, material help, expatriates, propaganda and advice. A new mission colony seemed to be emerging in Southern Sudan with its aeroplanes, communications, steam boats, landing strips, fleet of cars and thousands of employees.

Moreover, there were many Church and Christian organizations who worked directly with the state, like:

1. African Committee for Rehabilitation of Southern Sudan (ACRoSS). This organization belonged to the SIM and had many agreements with the Sudan government to work in the field of relief, health, education and development.
2. Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) was established in Meridi in 1977 to promote Christian literature and to translate it into the local language and to help provide a school curriculum and discipline in the local language.

There were many other organizations – though not claim-

ing Christian orientation – co-ordinating with the Church programme and activities, such as:

1. Oxford Mission OXFAM, which signed its first agreement with the Sudan government on 24 November, 1984.
2. Action Committee to Local Initiative and Self-Help (ACCOMLISH) a local charity organization established in Tirkaka with the assistance of a Netherland Church organization and many other Christian organizations.
3. Voluntary Service Overseas, introduced itself as an independent charity organization concerned with Third World development and had its office in London. It opened its first office in Khartoum in 1977 and in Juba in December 1979.
4. Canadian Inter-Development Agency (CIDA), also had an agreement with the Sudan government and many of its projects were executed through Church channels.

Hundreds of millions of pounds were provided to Southern Sudan through a variety of Church organizations and channels. Radio Juba was run mainly by a programme provided by SCC as the SCC studio was more modern and better equipped than the government one. There was ostensibly a Christian revival. The Church again monopolized the main aspects of life – rehabilitation, settlement, education, development and health care. The first act of President Numeiry, when he visited the South after the Addis Ababa Accord was to go to the Cathedral and pray with the masses. However, what Southern Sudan was looking for was not a Church but development and progress. The secular West had chosen to deal with the South through the Church for its cultural and strategic objectives. Necessity compelled the South to respond in the Christian outlook. The West, by using aid as a weapon to impose Christianity and Western secularism, attacked the dignity and integrity of the Southerner. It was no surprise, when in 1983, the Sudan was faced by a popular leftist movement, emerging in Southern Sudan,

attacking Islam, Christianity, the Church, the West and seeking to establish secular socialism throughout Sudan.

The Mission and the Culture of War . . . From 1955 Mutiny to 1980s War

The white man's building in Africa had two domes, colonialism and the missions. In the Sudan, while the British were building up the colonial system, the missionaries like elsewhere in Africa, were giving moral support to the colonial venture. The colonial system started to wither from the late 1940s, but the missions survived and expanded. Though they were the antithesis of the national venture, the national language, the national religion and the national movement, they adopted survival strategies in the fields of language, education and culture. They shaped their truth, goals, discourse, and faces, to adapt to the new situation.

The missions realized that the missionary carried with him many foreign things; his language, Bible, passport and mentality. Such missionary guise was an obvious cause of antagonism and tension in the new-born state. The missions tried to reduce their foreignness by localization and Africanization, yet still the new-born Churches bore the symbol of the new religion and the continuity of the colonial set-up. The mission had enjoyed a privileged position in the colonial era; the nationalists were not totally committed to accept such a privilege as a right.

In 1910, Wingate, the second Governor of Sudan, tried to please the missionaries by enthusiastically agreeing to create a non-Muslim Equatorian Corps for the South, which could be used against any outbreak of militant Islam in the North.[46] The recruits were brainwashed against Islam and the North. The first major challenge to the new-born Sudan came from this Corps.

In July and August, 1955, they brutally killed every Northerner they could find.[47] Most of the mutineers were Fertit and baptized Christians. Of the 1,800-strong Equatorian Corps only 100 were Dinka. The mutineers were led by Lieutenant Reynaldo Loyela, a Catholic; the organizer of the mutiny was Saturlino Oloyo, a Catholic. Others involved

were Marko Ruma, Secretary of the Liberal Party – Juba, and Daniel Jume, the Southern language broadcaster in Egypt who tried to please the Egyptians, and secured mission strategy without their direct involvement. Many of the mutineers were arrested and executed early in 1956. The Equatorian Corps was dissolved. The mutiny brought the deaths of 261 Northerners, most of them civilians. The British Governor-General temporarily closed all the schools due to the mutiny atmosphere. The new Sudanese Republic allowed them to re-open in 1956.

The mutiny achieved its main aims to deepen mistrust and enmity, to sow the seeds of rebellion, and to create a reservoir of future troubles. The outbreak of violence was a logical product of the colonial Southern closed-districts policies and mission-education mentality. The Southern political movement, which had grown in the shade of the Church, failed to condemn the tragedy, or even the killing of civilians including whole families and children. The Church as a whole showed no sympathy towards the new-born state. The distrust which prevailed between the Church and the national movement was given added momentum.

An embryo Southern political party had in fact been formed in 1955 by Buth Diu 'Anuer Protestant', Stanislaw Paysama[48] 'a Catholic Dinka' and Abdul Rahman Sale 'a Muslim Southerner'. This same group developed later into the Unity Party under the leadership of Santino Deng,[49] Philimon Majok and Buth Diu.

The more vocal and radical Southern political movement was the one supported by the Church. This group claimed that it represented the historical continuity of the 1955 mutiny group. This group worked in exile in Uganda, making use of the Church's facilities there. Officially they were treated as refugees. In 1957 the Catholics started a campaign against the Sudan government, accusing it of harassing the Church's activities. The Catholics refused to accept the nationalization of education. In 1959 they tried to explore and check the Church's role in inciting the 'rebels' and providing them with information. The government restricted the granting of permits, denying re-entry permits to missionaries made 'redundant' by the nationalization of schools.

In 1959, a Catholic Dinka priest, Dominic Murwel, and a former MP, were arrested while trying to leave the country to seek help in establishing the resistance movement. In 1960, Friday was declared the weekly holiday in an attempt to unify the holiday system throughout the country. Two Catholic fathers – Dogalle and Lohure – incited the Catholics against the Friday holiday, and this led to an increase in unrest. The government responded by closing some Catholic centres, forbade all types of missionary commerce and attacked some of their economic resources.[50] More Catholics started to leave the country to join the outlaws. The most vocal element among them at one stage was the Catholic Rev. Father Saturino Lohure.[51] In December, 1960, Saturino left for Uganda, at a time of increasing conflict between the Church and the State in Southern Sudan. He joined the remnants of the 1955 mutiny who were around 800 strong, taking refuge in both the bush and in Uganda. Most of the rebels, having no skills, no jobs, no prospects, and lacking a sense of direction, with their spiritual Church leadership mobilizing them, engaged in guerrilla activities to support themselves and to acquire food and arms. Father Saturino founded the Sudan Christian Association in Uganda in 1961. Among the team were Alex Mbabi, Pancrasio, Joseph Ochuho and Aggrey Jaden. Much of the missionary and Church aid was channelled through the Association. Father Saturino succeeded in building an infrastructure for the mutiny movement through his Church connections and his acquaintance with the situation in Uganda.

By making use of the Church structure in Southern Sudan, the mutiny movement began to gain momentum. Senior Southern officials defected to join the movement. Most prominent of those was William Deng.[52] In February 1962, the Christian Southern leaders formed the Sudan African Closed Districts National Union (SACDNU) at Kinshasa in Zaire. The Catholics dominated the movement. Father Saturino assumed the title of 'Patron', Joseph Ochuhu – a Catholic Latuka – became its first President, Marko Ruma its Vice-President and William Deng its Secretary-General. In 1963, after his release from a Sudanese prison, Dominic Merwal replaced Marko Ruma as Vice-President. By making

use of the Church's worldwide infrastructure, the new mutiny Christian leadership inflamed Christian public opinion throughout the world, about the suffering of the Sudan Church. They were able to cash in on that image very effectively in terms of public relations, money, military and material assistance.[53] In Zaire and Uganda where the Church's influence was great, a blind eye was turned to the activities of the movement against the Sudan. The Church enabled the mutiny movement to have many educational grants and academic scholarship in African and European universities and other educational institutions. Many Southern students were encouraged to flee their country.[54]

On 19 September, 1963, a conference took place to organize the military wing of the Movement. Major General Emilio Tafeng – a Catholic – was appointed Commander-in-Chief. He was a former Lieutenant in the Sudan Defence Force having been commissioned from the ranks. Soon the military wing adopted the name Anya Nya. The most active military unit was the one led by the Roman Catholic missionary, the leader of the Dinka insurgents, Bernardino Mui, who launched the famous attack on the barracks at Wau on 11 January, 1964. Bernardino was captured and was hanged on 23 February. A letter from William Deng was found on Bernardino when he was captured. At that time SACDNU shortened its name to Sudan African National Union (SANU).

During the 1960s SANU established itself firmly in the world arena. The leadership toured the world and had direct negotiations with international relief agencies, such as the Red Cross, Caritas Catholic International Charity Organization and Oxfam Christian Mission. The World Council of Churches put them in contact with Norwegian associations and other Church organizations and provided publicity for the war, to raise funds. In 1962, the government countered by endorsing the Missionary Societies Act 1962, so as to restrict the mission's movements, to organize their relations with the state and to encourage the process of Church Sudanization.

The most aggressive publicity against the Sudan government's policies and actions came from the Catholic Church.

The Vatican mobilized the world press. The April 1963 issue of Verona Fathers' *Nigrizia* was devoted entirely to the Southern Sudan. In April 1963, *Frontier Call,* the organ of the Verona Fathers Mission, published in Cincinnati, USA, devoted a whole issue to the Sudan: 'Southern Sudan is an immense jail from which all citizens who could, have escaped . . . Christianity must go, because a united Sudan is not conceivable unless it is Moslem down to its last citizen. This flagrant disregard for the rights and liberties of millions of people goes on today in the Sudan.'

The campaigners put pressure on the heads of African states. President Kamuza Banda of Malawi cleverly escaped the issue of his co-operation with the South Africa apartheid regime, by attacking the Sudan: 'If Malawi needs to be sending mercenaries . . . she must send them to the Sudan, where Arabs are butchering our own African kind.'[55]

In 1963, active resistance extended to the Anwak and Gaajok Nuer of the Nasser region. The American Rev. Don McClure was suspected of inciting it. McClure was partially supported by Emperor Haile Selassie in his mission towards the Anwak and Nuer of Ethiopia.[56] The American mission's aggressiveness and outspoken opposition to the Sudan government cost it nine expulsions. McClure shifted his headquarters to the Ethiopian border and continued to operate illegally in Sudan. The Catholic fathers developed an effective intelligence service, monitoring army movements from within their extended net of catechists, bush schools and churches.[57] The role of these institutions in mobilizing ideological resistance and possibly as middlemen between ideological and guerrilla resistance, has been fatal.

The government confessed that the activities of the Church had exceeded its limit and had become a security hazard. President Abboud reacted to the development of the mission's activities and to the attack on Wau barracks in February by expelling, on 27 February, 1964, 242 foreign missionaries of whom 214 were Roman Catholics and 28 Protestants.[58]

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8. Ibid., Vol. 31, 1942, p. 47.

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12. Cash, op. cit., p. 41.

13. Gelsthorpe, op. cit., p. 22.

14. Cash, op. cit., p. 36.

15. Gelsthorpe, op. cit., p. 25.

16. Naṣr, op. cit., p. 69.

17. Henderson, op. cit., p. 541.

18. Beshir Mohammed Said, *The Sudan: Cross Roads of Africa,* Bodley Head, London, 1965, p. 94.

19. Pope's address to the expelled missionaries, *The Black Book of the Sudan, On the Expulsion of the Missionaries from Southern Sudan: An Answer,* Instituto Antigianelli, Milano, Italy, 1964, pp. 193–4.

20. *The Black Book of the Sudan . . . ,* pp. 200–2.

21. Ibid., p. 204.

22. Said, op. cit., p. 106.

23. Examples of the press campaign: *The Catholic Herald,* 13.3.1964: 'Driven Like Cattle out of Sudan'; 13.3.64: 'Horrors of the Road to Khartoum'; 3.4.1964: 'Massacre Awaited in South Sudan'; *The West Nile*

Catholic Gazette, May 1964: 'Extermination of Christianity'; *The Leader,* 2.5.1964: 'Sudan Fears Mass Slaughter'; *Missions,* May 1964: 'Sudan, The Curtain Comes Down'.

24. Kenneth W. Grundy, *Guerilla Struggle in Africa: An Analysis and Preview,* Crossman, New York, 1971, p. 133.

25. *The Times,* 25.5.64, p. 6, under the title 'Angry Reaction to Sudanese Visit'. *The Times,* 21.7.64, carried an article entitled 'Sudan to Re-admit Missionaries'. On 20 July the Lebanese Foreign Minister announced that Sudan and the Vatican had reached agreement, with the help of Lebanon for the return of three Catholic priests to Sudan and all Protestant priests. A Vatican source confirmed the news.

26. The Anglican Church mission is derived ostensibly from the crown, which claims to be 'in all causes and over all persons, ecclesiastic and civil within the British Empire, supreme'.

27. *The Vigilant* – Sudanese newspaper, 7.3.1966.

28. *The Times,* 18.2.66, p. 11, and 22.2.1966, p. 8; 11.4.66, article entitled 'Cardinal Heenan's Plea on Sudan'.

29. Dunstan M. Wai, *The African-Arab Conflict in the Sudan,* New York, 1981, pp. 143–4.

30. Ibid.

31. Some English papers carried reports on Sudan before the coup: *The Times,* 21.4.69: 'Crisis of Contrasts which Threatens Sudan'; 25.4.69: 'Move to Keep Sudan Leader in Office'; *The Guardian,* 25.4.69: 'Sudan Crisis'; *The Times,* 19.5.69: 'Sudan Crisis'; 26.5.69: 'Sudan's Young Officers'.

32. Rolf Steiner was a Catholic German, born on 31 January, 1933 in Munich, twenty-seven days before Hitler took power. He worked with the Nazi stormtroops for a while. He joined the French Foreign Legion and took part in the war in Morocco, Indo-China and Vietnam. He went to Algeria, considering it a French province, where he worked against Algerian independence, as a member of Delta, the secret French movement which opposed militarily the independence of Algeria. After that he sought adventure in the Congo as a mercenary and then fought for Biafra, which he considered a Catholic country, in the war against Islam. He boasted of murdering thousands of people, destroying armoured cars, and six aeroplanes. He went to Sudan in July, 1969 to collect information. When he returned to Europe, he sought Church help for his military activities. He went back to Southern Sudan where he spent a year involved in military activities. In January, 1971 he was captured by the Ugandan authorities and handed over to the Sudan government on 10 January, 1971. In Khartoum, he was tried and sentenced to death. President Numeiry commuted the sentence to twenty years imprisonment. He was released on 30 March, 1974 after extensive Western pressure.

33. Rolf Steiner, *The Last Adventurer,* translated by Steve Cox. Boston, Toronto, 1978, p. 175.

34. Ibid., p. 177.

35. Ibid., pp. 185–99.

36. Ibid., p. 187.

37. Material in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, under the title 'L.E. Per 334142 Anya Nya'.

38. Ibid., Anya Nya, May 1971, p. 8.

39. Abel Alior, is a venerated Sudanese Dinka; he was for some time District Judge, sometime Research Fellow in the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies, London University. He was the first Southerner chosen as the President of the High Executive Regional Assembly, on 15 December, 1973. The Junta wanted to make a breakthrough in the war so as to endorse their role as saviour of the Sudan.

40. Pope Paul VI was the first Pope in the history of the Vatican to visit Africa. His state visit to Uganda in August, 1969 was an impulse for more penetrating work in Africa.

41. Wai, op. cit., p. 150. I have based my information mainly on this source in building the peace story.

42. During the first ten years of the implementation of the agreement, 1973–83, the three successive Southern rulers were either Anglican like Abel and Lague or Muslim like Gism-Allah Rassas. The majority of the educated Dinka were Catholic, though most of the Dinka politicians were Anglican. About sixty per cent of the first generation of mission-educated elite were Catholics. It seems the Catholics were under-represented partially because of their controversial Catholic education and partially because of tribal and religious conflict. 'The implantation of Western education has created severe tensions, sometimes in quite unexpected ways, especially in a society marked by ethnic and linguistic diversity' – quoted in Sanderson, op. cit., p. 1.

43. H. MacMichael, an ex-Civil Service secretary said: 'It is equally understandable that the Christian missions, fearing the challenge of an increased Islamic penetration should have used their influence in the direction of separation but after Addis Ababa the Church position seemed to have changed tactically.'

44. Augustine Baroni was born in Bologna in Italy on 15 October, 1905, completed his studies in Italy and England and was consecrated as a priest on 5 April, 1930. In 1932, he was transferred to Sudan as Dean of Comboni College. After working in England and Italy he came again to Sudan in the 1950s where he settled and took Sudanese nationality and was promoted by the Pope on 12 December, 1974 to be Archbishop of Khartoum. He was summoned back to the Vatican in the 1980s. He was fluent in at least six languages, including Arabic.

45. Gerhard G. Hennes, *Alone, You Get Nowhere,* WCC, Geneva, 1977, p. 71.

46. R.O. Collins, *Shadows in the Grass,* London, 1984, p. 168.

47. The Egyptians were outraged by Al-Azhar's declared intention to declare independence. They incited the Southerners to revolt, thinking that a chaotic situation would enable them to intervene militarily and restore Sudan to their domain.

48. Stanislaw Abd Allah Paysama, born at Pindise Darfur in 1905, from a Muslim family, was taken by the Catholics and educated in their schools in Wau. He became President of the Liberal Party and a Member of Parliament.

49. Santino Deng Teng was from Bahr al-Ghazal Dinka, a former minister of animal resources 1958–64, President of the Sudan Unity Party. He created the self-support bodyguard against the Anya Nya.

50. Sanderson, op. cit., p. 402.

51. Saturino Lohure was from the Latuka tribe in Eastern Equatoria. He spent most of his life in Uganda where he studied theology. He contested an election in 1958. He became MP and Leader of the Federal Party. He led the Southern MP's walk out from the constitutional committee. After the 1958 military coup, he deserted to Uganda where in 1960 he became patron of the Sudan African Closed Districts National Union. He was killed by Ugandan troops, seemingly as a result of religious and tribal conflict between the Protestants and the Catholics. He had cordial relations with the Uganda Catholic Church which was closely identified with the Democratic party against Milton Obote.

52. William Deng (1930–68), affiliated to Bahr al-Ghazal Dinka, was educated in the Anglican mission schools and in Rumbek Secondary School. He joined the Sudan Civil Service in 1954. When he was assistant district commissioner at Kaposta, uptil 1960, he was for unity. He wrote an article in January 1960 supporting the idea of complete integration of the South. After he went into exile he wrote a book with Joseph Ochuhu about the problems of Southern Sudan. After the 1964 uprising he came to Sudan but was killed in Rumbek Road in May 1968, while canvassing for the election.

53. The co-ordinated campaign can be traced in the post-60s world media and Christian newspapers. Following are some of the titles of the selected news and articles about the Sudan: *The Tidings,* 7.10.60: 'Mission Superior Tells of Trouble in Sudan'. *The Catholic Standard and Times,* 11.11.1960: 'Sudan Court Tries Priests for Treason'. *The Catholic Telegraph–Register,* 18.11.1960: 'Anti-Catholics in Sudan Wanted Kennedy to Lose'. *NCWC News Service,* 16.10.61: 'Anti-Catholic Persecution Reaching Final Stages in the Sudan'. *NCWS News Service,* 10.10.1962: 'Muslim-Ruled Sudan Seen as Willing to use Armed Force to Stamp Out Christianity, Government Official Threatens Slaughter'. *The Catholic Herald,* 28.12.1962: 'Sudan Steps Up Attack on Mission'.

54. Edgar O'Ballange. *The Secret War in the Sudan 1958–72,* Faber & Faber, London, 1977. I have based my information mainly on this source for the development of the resistance movement in the early 60s.

55. Quoted in Said, op. cit., p. 109.

56. Sanderson, op. cit., p. 390.

57. Ibid.

58. According to the Vatican book, *The Black Book of Sudan, On the Expulsion of the Missionaries from Southern Sudan: An Answer,* p. 135, there were 212 Catholic missionaries in Southern Sudan at the time of the general expulsion, including some who were in Europe on leave. Therefore, the actual number expelled is less than 242.

CHAPTER SIX

Back to War

The Sudan's national and regional governments carried out successfully the resettlement and rehabilitation programme. Nearly all the refugees returned. Some former mission schools helped in absorbing the returning emigrant students. Implementation in the South was entrusted to Southern administrators, nearly all of them Christians. The regional government welcomed Church initiatives, opening Church-related schools, hospitals, the organization of religious societies, priests travelling to outlying villages and the evangelization of 'virgin areas'.[1]

The Catholic Status

On 6 April, 1975, Cardinal A. Rosi, the Prefect of Sudan Congregation for Evangelization of Peoples, ordained three Southern Bishops, Mgr. Gabriel Zubeir,[2] Mgr. Pius Yukwan Deng and Mgr. Joseph Gasi Abangite.

In December the Holy See established a local hierarchy. Two ecclesiastical provinces were created: Khartoum became the metropolitan See of the North and Juba of the South. The latter had four suffragan dioceses, Juba, Malakal, Rumbek and Wau. Later on two more were created for Torib and Tombora. The archdiocese of Juba comprises the 200,000 members of the Bari tribe and other small tribes of the Equatoria province to the east and west of the Nile plus Northern and Ugandan refugees. It is the most Christian diocese of the South, as Catholics and Protestants form 50 per cent of its total population. In 1974, Archbishop Ireneo Dud was appointed by Pope Paul VI for the archdiocese. He was replaced after some years by Archbishop Paolinu

Lukudu Loro, who was appointed officially by Pope John II on 13 July, 1983.

The archdiocese consists of 8 parishes, 2 for Juba town and 6 in the districts. It has 3 theological schools and seminaries, 2 in Juba and 1 in Busari near Wau, 3 secondary schools, 2 intermediates, many primary and also some nurses. Complementing these are the projects of Sudan Aid, Juba Press, and many hospitals and dispensaries. The archbishop, Mgr. Paolinu Lukudu Loro is assisted by 4 native priests and 9 expatriates.[3] There are three religious orders: The Apostles of Jesus, the Brothers of St. Martin de Parres and the Sisters of the Sacred Heart. There are also 16 mission stations in the diocese.

The Diocese of Torit was established in July, 1983. It comprises the eastern district of the Province bordering on Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda. The bishop, Mgr. Parid Taban is helped by 4 native priests, 6 Kiltegan missionaries and 2 Verona Fathers. The junior seminary has 100 students. It is staffed by a native priest, 2 Kiltegan and some lay teachers. A German volunteer couple run an institute to train teachers of religion destined for governmental schools. Two Verona Fathers and some Ugandan sisters work among the Ugandan refugees along the border and in Torit itself. A team of Norwegian experts who specialize in development projects have now made Torit their headquarters: there is therefore a real danger that Catholics may join the Norwegian Church.[4] There are eight parishes in the diocese.

The Diocese of Malakal coincides with the region of the Upper Nile; its inhabitants are the Anwak (500,000), the Nuer (450,000) and the Shilluk (190,000), some sections of the Dinka and some other small tribes. This diocese has the lowest number of Catholics.

Mgr. Vincent Mojok, a Shilluk, heads the diocese. Two local priests and 4 local religious sisters assist him. There are also 6 Mill Hill fathers and 3 brothers, 3 priests from the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem, 2 Verona Fathers and 7 Verona Sisters. The diocese also employs 35 Catechists.[5] The diocese consists of 15 parishes.

The Diocese of Wau, headed by Mgr. Joseph Nyekindi, incorporates a large section of the Dinka tribe; most of the Catholics are to be found among the smaller tribes. The diocese consists of 15 parishes. At Bussere, St. Paul's National Major Seminary has nearly 100 students and a staff of 2 Jesuits and 3 Verona Fathers. St. Mary's National Senior Seminary at Wau, with 120 students has a Sudanese priest assisted by a team of Indian and Egyptian Jesuits, 2 Verona Sisters and some lay teachers. There are two religious societies – Sisters of Nazareth and the Brothers of St. Joseph.

The Diocese of Tombora in the southwest corner of the Sudan has a very homogeneous population of the Zande tribe. Catholics make up 70 per cent of the Christian population. Mgr. Joseph Gasi Abangite, the bishop, is assisted by 3 native priests and 4 expatriate missionaries. The diocese has 11 parishes. After the Accord, the Prefecture was elevated to a bishopric and Tombora was made its See.

The Diocese of Rumbek comprises the Dinka, Zande, Moru, Mundu, Baka and the Kakwa tribes. It has 8 parishes. The diocese was established by Mgr. Ireneo Dud in 1955. In 1976, Mgr. Gabriel Duatuka was appointed Bishop of Rumbek. The pastoral activity declined greatly and, from 1983, it became semi-deserted.

The Protestant Status 1973–83

The most important Protestant Church in the Sudan was the Episcopal Church which was established by the CMS in 1905. It had a chain of churches throughout the South. In 1974, Bishop Alynana Najela was appointed Bishop of Southern Sudan. In October, 1977 a new independent diocese was created for Southern Sudan, when it was separated from the Anglican Dioceses of the Sudan. Archbishop Najela became the first head of the Diocese. He concentrated his efforts on the Africanization and localization of the Church, by the Sudanization of the priests and tolerating the mixing of the rites with traditional customs.

The Diocese of Southern Sudan had three zones: the

Dioceses of Juba, Wau and Yambio. There were eight bishops in the diocese. Najela was helped by his assistant Bishop, Benjamin Yuggusuk Wani of Rumbek diocese. The Diocese had a college of theology in Mundri, more than 250 priests working in its thirty different parishes, New Day Press, Abbey Cultural Bookshop, settlement programme in Juba, Relief Agency, and other institutes and schools.

The most important assistance for the Church came from its mission-educated elite, who have been the real masters of the South for the last thirty years. However the new generation is more materialistic, seeking salvation through atheism and revolution.

The Presbyterian Church in the Southern Sudan is in bad shape these days. It seems to have shifted its efforts to the North. It has a deserted centre for training priests at Doleib Hill and another for training women at Malakal besides many economic and agricultural institutions, dispensaries and means of transportation. None of these institutions were in good shape and none of its 23 priests were in the field in 1988.

The African Inland Church pursued a policy of Sudanization. A local administration was established under the leadership of Father Zakot and 14 priests. It established centres in Torit, Kitaru, Gillo-Katteri, Allbadi, Abum, Kaposta, Aiu, Bargun, Upper Talanga, Juba and other places. It had an Evangelical College, Bible College of Gillo and three schools.

The Seventh Day Adventist Church was established after the Peace Accord. In 1979, a Kenyan missionary laid the cornerstone to the main church and headquarters in Juba. The Adventists concentrated their efforts on development, establishing themselves in Juba, Torit, Malakal and Nasser. It runs many schools, dispensaries, and vocational training. It has independent administration and 30 missionaries.

The Sudan Interior Mission resumed its efforts after 1972, introducing the Bible to the Maban tribe. It had about 7 local priests in Melut.

The Sudan Pentecostal Church was established in Juba in 1977. It extended quickly to Maridi and Malakal and had 8 expatriate priests.

Many other national organizations reactivated their efforts, like the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society, British and Foreign Bible Society, American Bible Society.

The Church enjoyed a period of good progress due to the alliance between the North's military Junta and the mission-educated elites of the South. The military Junta used the Peace Accord to give them the political and constitutional legality which they lacked. The mission-educated elite – Southern Sudan Governors – were ready to back the Junta as a substitute for political and constitutional legality. The Church was happy to bless this marriage to the extent that it started to proselytize in the North. It exploited the circumstances of a very poor Northern tribe in Wad Medani; 72 members of a closely-knit seven-family community became Catholics.[6] The Church, which was always outspoken on human rights violations, failed to do so in response to the Junta's military action against the *Anṣārs*. The world at large was subjected to a conspiracy of silence about the fate of thousands of refugees who took refuge in Ethiopia after the Aba Island massacre in 1970. The period 1972 to 1979 was looked upon by the North as that of an unholy alliance between the Church and the military Junta. The secular policies of the Junta were reflected in the nature of this alliance. The major weakness in the Accord was that it came as a result of external Western pressure when the internal need for a major political breakthrough at any price was greatest. The Accord does not express a real change in attitudes in the North, nor does it respond to the real necessary requirements of the South in the field of cultural integration. In its endeavour to preserve peace, the government compromised its responsibility to fight corruption, and corruption prevailed in the South, becoming the general rule of governmental behaviour.

From 1978, the order of things in the North began to change due to the National Reconciliation (NR). The NR was achieved after a general agreement between the North-

ern main political opposing forces and the Junta regime. The Junta, after it secured its position, tried to do something about corruption which became of increasing concern both in the South and the North. President Numeiry started a process of Islamization to help clear up corruption, though some observers judged Numeiry and his elite as particularly corrupted. Numeiry called his new policies the Method of Rightly Guided Leadership (MRGL).

During the era of NR and MRGL, a sort of Islamic revival began to take shape. Mosque building flourished, Islamic banking and institutions took root. The Islamic movement dominated schools, student politics, some trade unions and influenced to some degree the politics of the Union Socialist Party and People's Assembly.

The Church in an attempt to enhance its position, tried to influence student politics by the creation of student Christian associations. The CMS launched its 1980 Mission Project entitled 'Sharing with the Sudan' in which about 1,000 schools and churches took part. A seven-day consultation entitled 'Partners in Mission' was held in Juba under the auspices of the Episcopal Church of the Sudan in which Church leaders from many parts of the world participated. The Catholics started an International Training Centre in Juba.[7] The Catholic Church adopted measures to speed up the process of Sudanization. Gabriel Zubeir who had been posted to Khartoum in 1979, took over in September 1981 the Metropolitan diocese of Khartoum from the veteran Fr. Barnoi.[8] Some expect his appointment to be catastrophic to the future of the Church in Sudan. He shifted the power of the Church to the political field and became an anti-Islam campaigner. When the *Sharī'ah* code was introduced, he commented publicly: 'The Islamic Penal Code will soon turn the country into one of blood-thirsty citizens.'[9] He was referring to the anti-Islamic guerrilla activities, under the name Anya Nya which started in the Owil District in northern areas of Bahr al-Ghazal.

The Peace Accord helped to accelerate the process of Islamization among the Dinka in the Owil District. Militant Christians among the Dinka Njok of Abiey thought that it represented a threat to their cultural existence. They were

located in an area between the Arab Bagarra of Kordofan and Owil's Dinka who were opting for Islam. Actually their area was considered a part of Kordofan. At the end of 1982 they started guerrilla activities against the Muslim Dinka. This soon turned into a manhunt against Northern traders in the area. All the Muslims at the railway station at Ariat were massacred. About seventeen mosques were destroyed, their Imams killed. The Muslim Dinka exodus began to flow into the town of Al-Mum in Kordofan.

The Ethiopians, Libyans, and Russians became interested in the Anya Nya II uprising. Camps were set up in Camballa in Ethiopia to which the fit and ideologically motivated were sent to be trained by Ethiopian, Libyan and Cuban advisors. Arms traffic began to flow to the South. The Southerners were divided among themselves about the issue of redivision of the South. The Equatorians threatened to go to the forest again if Equatoria was given autonomy. Early in May 1983, the garrison of the 105 Battalion at Bor, Pivor and Pachella mutinied. On 23 May, 1983 President Numeiry ordered the redivision of the autonomous Southern region.[10] The government resorted to violence to put down the mutiny. Major General John Garang with twenty-one other officers fled to Ethiopia. Within a matter of months, the guerrillas were joined by some 2,000 deserted troops.[11] In September, 1983 *Sharī'ah* laws were introduced, a general amnesty was declared and President Numeiry himself participated in the destruction of over £5.1 million worth of alcoholic drinks. The *Sharī'ah* measures led to a significant drop in crime.[12]

On the declaration of *Sharī'ah,* the mutiny movement introduced a Marxist-oriented manifesto. The manifesto focused on Sudan's identity crisis, liberation of Sudan from an Arab-dominated government, and stated that cultural and ethnic diversity could co-exist only under a secular state and the Sudanese overwhelming Muslim majority should accept the right of a Christian to rule them.

In September 1983, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and its military wing, Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) based in Ethiopia began to attack Church institutions and Western investment projects. On 5 September, 1983 an incident occurred in which European

employees of a Christian aid group based in Kenya were taken hostage.[13] The army freed the hostages and the SPLA warned the Church to evacuate all its personnel from Southern Sudan which was considered War Zone No. 1. In November 1983, 11 workers – 9 Europeans and 2 Pakistanis – were kidnapped by the SPLA in the Upper Nile from Jongli Canal Project which was being undertaken by a French company which subsequently suspended its operation. On 4 February, 1984 Chevron announced that it was temporarily suspending its operations in the South after some SPLM attacks. On 29 April, 1984 the government declared a state of emergency throughout the South.[14]

The Church's response to the new situation was ambivalent; according to the Christian magazine, *The Evidence* (March–April, 1984), 'local and foreign believers are being closely watched and called for questioning by the authorities'.[15] A WCC delegation visited Sudan to discuss the issue of redivision and *Sharī'ah.* The Archbishop of Khartoum, Gabriel Zubeir, preferred to talk about *Sharī'ah,* introduction of the code which reduced millions of non-Muslims to second-class citizens in their own country.[16] The Christian Churches in East Africa, Kenya and Tanzania called on the Sudanese government to respect the beliefs of Christians in the Sudan by exempting them from *Sharī'ah* law (*Focus* 7/84). A letter signed by Roman Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian and Evangelical leaders and the SCC General Secretary condemned introduction of the *Sharī'ah* while the local Coptic churches declared their support for Islamic reform against the European churches.[17]

After the SPLM warning to expatriates to evacuate, the Catholics declared that they already had a shortage of Christian staff and that they had only one priest to every 6,700 Catholics and one priest to every 124,000 inhabitants. On 7 January, 1985 the first of 100 mothers, children and school personnel were airlifted out of the Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) development programme area in Southern Sudan to Nairobi.

While the Sudanese arena became more occupied with the triple conflict – Church against introducing the *Sharī'ah,* SPLM against the Sudanese order of things, and the Axis of

Libya, Ethiopia and Russia against the Numeiry regime – US Vice-President George Bush visited Sudan in March, 1985. Bush's visit involved a political and economic assessment which included the relaxation of *Sharī'ah,* the repeal of some Islamic economic measures on the banking sector, and, most importantly, the removal of price subsidies and other obstacles to a free market system. After Bush's visit the Muslim Brothers were purged. Dr. Turabi and about 200 Muslim brothers were arrested. The Church was relieved of its strong presence in the cultural arena. This led to the alienation of President Numeiry's last political ally and left his regime without credible political support. Events that contributed to the outbreak of the popular revolution gave momentum to the Swar al-Dahab *coup d'état* of 15 April, 1985.

The SPLM condemned the new regime and refused to negotiate with it. The Church did not give the new regime a chance to demonstrate its intentions. In a separate petition the Catholic Bishops said that 'the new military council is very discriminatory against Christians . . . it does not understand their needs or demands . . . does not understand Church structure, terminology or even the nature and functions of the Christian Church'.[18] After a while, the Vatican sent the Indian Catholic Mother Theresa, who met General Swar al-Dahab the head of the Military Council. The AACC was asked by General James Loro Sirisio, President of the High Executive Council of Southern Sudan, to reconcile the regime in Khartoum and the SPLM.[19]

The Catholic Church emerged as a major distributor of food and other aid in the Northern Sudan's farming areas in 1985–86. In October, 1985 the Sudan Catholic Church in an open letter pleaded with the government to 'abandon the war-path . . . as the nation was drifting apart into hostile, racial, religious and regional factions'. They charged the government with inciting violence against the South and especially against Christians. Archbishop Zubeir was worried that the US government, which was Numeiry's main weapons supplier, might still be quietly funnelling weapons to the Sudan government. He said Americans must realize that any military aid to Sudan would be used to fight 'our own people'

not to defend against external forces.[20] The Americans froze their military assistance from 1985, to the extent that they postponed the delivery of some Sudanese military aeroplanes which had been sent to America in 1985 to be modernized.

In a message to General Swar al-Dahab, the Sudanese bishops demanded the abrogation of the *Sharī'ah* law, the suppression of the Missionary Societies Act of 1962 and the abolition of the Ministry of Religious Affairs.[21]

Finally, however, they saw in the present military government 'a sign of new life and new hope'; and asked the Christian leaders to be committed to finding a Christian solution to the many questions that have created rancour, tension and injustice. One major issue which shocked Sudan, and was tackled by the new government, was the Moses operation, in which thousands of Ethiopian Flasha were taken illegally out of their refugee camps in Sudan to Israel. The official findings showed the involvement of the Catholic Relief Agency, the CIA and MOSSAD.

Early in 1986, the Catholics, Protestants and Copts formed 'The Sudanese Christian Association' to strive for the abrogation of the *Sharī'ah* and the 1962 Missionary Act.[22] In Numeiry's days the Coptic Church had blessed the introduction of *Sharī'ah*. In mid-1986, after Al-Mahdī was elected as Prime Minister, World Vision, an international, inter-denominational Christian organization, trucked its first delivery of 750 metric tonnes of oil, milk powder and grain into Wau through the local relief committee headed by Bishop John Milan, the Episcopal Bishop of Wau.[23] The Pope launched an appeal for aid to be given to the population of Southern Sudan, who were in danger of dying because of a famine. In November, 1986 the Catholic military governor of Equatoria, Peter Sereliu, to the amazement of the Church, expelled two expatriate priests from Southern Sudan. The government, following in his footsteps, requested the Lutheran World Field programme and two other relief agencies to cease their operations by mid-October, 1987.

In the second half of 1986, the Sudan Church offered its services as mediator between the Sudan government and the rebels. Sudan's ecumenical peace delegation told the Southern Sudan politicians to overcome their differences in

order to solve the region's problems. Archbishop Zubeir attacked Southern politicians, for being unable to defend the rights of their people, for being continually plagued by tribal and regional prejudices. Bishop Wani of the Episcopal Church of the Sudan stated that 'if the War does not end the South will be destroyed morally and materially'.[24]

The Sudan's ecumenical peace delegation canvassed many states, urging them to exert pressure on Sudan to accept peace talks on the lines of the Koka Dam Declaration.[25] The Zambian President, Kenneth Kaunda, condemned what he called the racist policies of the Sudan government and assured the Church leaders that Zambia would always support the struggle of black people in the Sudan.[26]

The Church, by exposing itself as an anti-*Sharī'ah* campaigner transformed itself into a political force, and instigated the already polarized Sudanese society, inflamed the minds of the majority Muslims against the Church and gave moral support to the outlaws who were demanding that the *Sharī'ah* be abandoned. According to a *Catholic Herald* report, Archbishop Zubeir said, during a recent visit to West Germany, that government troops regularly conduct unlawful searches of Church property and interfere with the free exercise of the Christian faith.

Earlier, in 1987, three expatriate Jesuit priests were captured by SPLA when the SPLA attacked the village of Tone; one of them was released after ten days, the other two were kept as hostages for nearly a year. On 7 July, 1987, SPLM kidnapped three American teachers and a British nurse working for the American Association of Christian Resource organization.[27] Sudanese rebels warned relief organizations to leave Southern Sudan.[28] But in both cases the Church avoided blaming the SPLA and said that they were optimistic about the safe release of the kidnapped missionaries, based on the outcome of the previous SPLA kidnapping. Instead the Church diverted world attention to the two priests expelled from Southern Sudan by the Southerner Governor. The Catholic official bulletin, *International Fides Service,* concluded that, in the present context, the Church's commitment for dialogue with the Muslim community hardly finds a response.[29]

A new phenomenon contributed to the already confused situation of inter-Church relations. On 23 June, 1987, Rev. Adi S. Ambros, founder and Director of the Sudan Pentecostal Churches, Juba, in an official letter to the Attorney-General of Sudan demanded the expulsion of the Swedish Free Mission team, accusing them of inciting the natives against Islamic missions, interfering in native Church affairs, consecrating a local priest and promoting tribalism and division among the simple Sudanese local community. Another letter was received at the office of the Sudan Prime Minister on 15 July, 1987 from Rev. Bishop Andreya Walle, Director, African Inland Church Sudan, in which he demanded the expulsion of ACRoSS, Norwegian Church and many other mission teams.[30]

While these confusing inter-Church relations prevailed in the South, Islamic laws and the North became the scapegoat. Some Church leaders tried to cover up their impotence to do something for the Church by becoming involved in a crusade against the Arabs of the Kordofan province and Sudan by introducing a fabricated shock-report about the prevalence of slavery in the Sudan. According to delegates of the Sudan Christian Council (SCC) attending the AACC Assembly in Lome, Togo in 1987, slavery continues in the Sudan contrary to universal principles of justice and human rights. In a paper headed 'Rescuing the Sudan', they called for Sudan, which was less dominated by Arab Sudanese, and for the SCC, AACC and WCC to contribute to the realization of this new Sudan.[31] On 27 June, 1988 the head of the Catholic Church in Sudan said that displaced Sudanese in Khartoum and other towns in the Southern Sudan were threatened by poverty, exploitation and harassment by the security forces.[32]

Bishop Makram Max of El Obeid toured the USA in mid-July, 1988. He claimed that Islamic law would bar non-Muslims from holding decision-making public office and the government had made a secret deal to replace Western relief agencies with Islamic ones. He called for international economic sanctions against the Sudanese government, pressure on Islamic states to end arms aid, and efforts to convince the rebels to use political means to achieve their goals.[33]

The Anglicans persuaded the Lambeth Conference, held in London in July 1988, to introduce three resolutions on Sudan. One expressed concern that the emergence of Islamic religious fundamentalism has resulted in serious violation of fundamental rights; the second urged the government of the Sudan to take the initiative in beginning negotiations with SPLA and to accept a third party to initiate peace talks, e.g. WCC and AACC; the third noted with great concern that the Government of Sudan wishes to reintroduce *Sharīʿah* law and impose it upon the people of Sudan. They respectfully requested the Government of Sudan to reconsider its decision on this matter and replace the *Sharīʿah* law with some other more humane legislation for punishing offenders.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the Sudan Church was dispirited. Being outspoken against the North, the National Army and the State did not help its image of being self-supporting and self-propagating. By committing itself to an extremely biased role against Islam and the state it did no more than corner itself. The Church had never been in such a vulnerable position as in the late 1980s. By increasingly politicizing its role it exposed itself to the state's wrath. It seemed no longer to be concerned with self-discipline, the problems of the people and providing guidance and light. It posed in the world media and Christian circles as the guardian of a suffering people while doing them no good.

The Church on a Knife Edge

The Church is facing a serious challenge in the world today. It is not only the question of the relevance of the Western Church but of Christianity itself and its authority and reliability. It is a question related to content, method, history, present and future. Is it a man-made institution or an invaluable God-creation? What about the 'sacred' body of Catholic tradition that claims it should not be questioned about things ranging from Jesus' divinity to his controversial shroud?[34]

The West, the centre of European Christianity is sailing towards atheism and agnosticism. The Pope in a message to the bi-annual Catholic conference held in Aachen in 1986

said that in many Christian countries there is a widening gap between the Christian message and the behaviour of Christians. The specific signs that point to a need for re-evangelization include immoral behaviour, decreasing participation in the Sacraments and the failure of Catholic families to pass on the faith to the next generation. He criticized numerous Western materialistic ideologies, which he considered have failed to secure human happiness, and as a consequence have undeniably created bloodshed, tears, conflict and death. The Pope failed to acknowledge that the same applied to the Church, its wars, and crusades which are still glorified by it, and that the Church shares in the historical process the outcome of which was what he described.

In a report produced by the Doctrine Commission of the General Synod of the Church of England, under the title 'We believe in God', the Commission questioned the authority of the Bible, denying that it was a solid ground to re-establish the faith. Every attempt to do so usually resulted in the formation of yet another sect. The Bible communicates its ideas by narratives or stories – and stories are only stories.

Divisions in the Church of England over the ordination of women, women bishops' consecration, homosexuals and the authority and authenticity of the Scriptures are threatening its unity. In Britain there are 170,000 divorces a year, a third of current marriages are heading for dissolution, some 140,000 juveniles were sentenced or cautioned for serious crimes in 1987, and half of all crimes were committed by those under twenty-one years of age. One in five children under six come from broken homes and the abortion rate of one to every five live births – about 185,000 abortions – indicates the failure of the Church's salvation message and moral leadership. How can a Church which is not able to stand on its own feet in its own country, send missions to evangelize the African heathen? For the simple people of Africa, the Fall and Sin came with the advent of Christianity. In this still half-virgin rival missionary field, missionaries are preaching the Gospel of surrender in the face of the white man's domination.

Roman Catholicism is witnessing the first major schism since the formation of the Polish National Catholic Church

in the United States in 1897. While the Old Catholics rejected the teachings of the First Vatican Council, on Papal authority, Archbishop Lefebvre rejects the teachings of the Second Vatican Council on ecumenism and religious liberty. Archbishop Lefebvre and four bishops were excommunicated on 30 June, 1988. Clerical celibacy has narrowed the Church's chances to recruit its priests in a selective manner. AIDS and homosexuality is spreading among the clergy. Corruption, power struggles, mafia mentality and freemasonry are reported to be finding their way among the Vatican hierarchy. In many African countries – for example Uganda and Southern Sudan – political instability and sheep-like allegiance was a direct result of Christian rivalries and pluralism. Missionaries were engaged more in politics than in evangelism.

Even as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century, 25,000 slaves were exported every year; as a consolation prize they were baptized before they departed.[35] African marriage has been shaken by the Christian laws; it was taught that polygamy was a sin, and this must have had a severe effect on the demographic and economic balance of African society where child mortality is 10.3 per cent. The Church suppressed the local African culture, language and heritage. Africans cannot go on for ever regarding French, English and Portuguese as their languages, while dismissing Arabic, Swahili, Fulfulde and other languages which have been rooted in their societies for thousands of years.

No one in today's Christian kingdom is evangelizing the simple word of Jesus of Nazareth. In the West, Jesus was brought up within the Romano-Hellenic culture in Rome and London. The Africans, too, want their Jesus. But when Mgr. Emmanuel Milingo,[36] Archbishop of Lusaka, Zambia, adopted 'the Africanization of Christianity', he was soon excommunicated. He said in his book *The Demarcations*: 'To want to convince me that I shall be a real Christian only when I adopt European culture and civilization amounts to changing my character by force. If God made a mistake in creating me an African, it is not obvious to me.'

The biggest nominal Catholic community in Africa is to be found in Zaire. The political leadership is Christian, yet

it could not tolerate the extremes of the Catholic Church in its irrelevant Europeanization, dogmatic rituals and monogamy. Mabutu Sese Seko, the President of Zaire, tried to help the situation in the early 1970s with his 'Return to Authenticity' ideology. This required the abolition of Christian names, the suppression of all Catholic action movements and of the Catholic press. He obliged everyone to merge in the melting pot of the one party, with the abolition of Christian festivals as legal public holidays. In 1974 it became compulsory to work on Christmas day. The faculties of theology in the state universities were abolished. The minor seminaries were closed and the confessional school system was nationalized. Courses of religious instruction in schools were replaced by Mabutu-ism. Crucifixes were removed from buildings. The Vatican preached 'moderation'. Pope John Paul II visited Zaire twice, in 1980 and 1985, when he blessed Sese Seko and his administration. But in the case of Sudan, which did nothing to reform the Church, the situation was dramatized by the Vatican press.

From the early 1950s, the liberation struggle in Africa began to gather momentum. The Church mis-read the situation: instead of giving moral support to the liberation movement it tended to provide survival strategy to colonialism. Many black bishops are privately astonished by the lack of direct Vatican involvement on issues related to South Africa and racism in general.[37] In 1965 Pope John XXIII refused to receive a delegation of nationalist movements in Angola. In 1970, under pressure he agreed to meet three of the leaders of these movements – MPLA in Angola, FRELIMO in Mozambique and the PAIGC in Guinea Bissau – as a Catholic and Christian, taking no account of their political role, and *Osservatore Romano* spoke of the nationalist leaders as 'rebels' showing no interest in the reaction of African Churches to the problem of the liberation of Portuguese colonies. Mozambican President, Samora Michel, said in 1977: 'We have decided to put an end to all religious belief, we have forbidden Catechism for children and for adults on public holidays'.[38]

In Africa, no longer is the Church the sole possible institute of salvation.[39] Sub-Sahara Africa, in which 90 per

cent of the educational programme was carried by mission, is seeking salvation through materialistic ideologies. The main opponents of the Church mission are the same elite who graduated from its institutions. The problems of the African Churches are manifold; the local community, rank and file and elite, are suspicious, disappointed by it and accuse it of foreignness. When the local Churches look at the mother Church in the West, they are disappointed to find it in bad shape, lacking a sense of direction and seemingly incompatible with their own societies' problems and the Gospel itself. The African quotes the Old Testament against what Pope John Paul II declared as the 'direct denial of God's design'. The Old Testament is full of polygamy. Abraham, Jacob, David and Solomon each had more than one wife; if it was all right for prophets, how can it be a direct denial of God's design? There is no explicit condemnation of polygamy anywhere in the Bible. The world's Anglican Bishops faced a problem when they met in London in July 1988 for their ten-yearly Lambeth Conference. They finally accepted that polygamists can become Christians and keep their wives, as long as they do not acquire any more.

There are now more than 7,000 independent Churches in Africa. They emphasize the bits of Christianity that match African practices or beliefs. Within every community of about 4,000 people, there exist ten to twelve spiritual Churches. Churches continue to spring up and have to use whatever space is available for their services. Strange and bizarre forms of worship are practised by certain religious sects – ranging from witchcraft to faith healing. In Ghana today Church elders are resigning from the orthodox established Churches to found and lead their own denominations. Usually their reason for doing so is that the orthodox churches have failed to meet the needs of their members.[40] Even African State Presidents are deserting the Church for Islam. In Gabon a Christian, Omar Bongo, converted to Islam. The family of Julius Nyerere of Tanzania has turned from Catholicism to Islam. In Sudan many priests have converted voluntarily to Islam.

The Pope is trying to redress the balance by canvassing in Africa. Pope Paul VI, on his 1969 state visit to Uganda, was

the first Pope in Vatican history to visit Africa. Pope John II in 1980 visited Zaire, the Congo, Kenya, Upper Volta and Ivory Coast; in 1982, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Nigeria and Benin; in 1985, Togo, Ivory Coast, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Zaire and Kenya; and in 1988, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland. In some disaster-stricken African countries, the cost of the Pope's visit accounts for a good percentage of the country's annual budget. Such extravagance does not set a good example for the local Church nor the rulers of the states and may be counter-productive. It also reflects the emptiness of the present-day Church.

The Vatican Second Council declaration, Nostra Aetate, noted that: 'Although in the course of the centuries many quarrels and hostilities have arisen between Christians and Muslims, this most sacred synod urges all to forget the past and to strive sincerely for mutual understanding. On behalf of all mankind, let them make common understanding. On behalf of mankind, let them make common cause of safeguarding and fostering social justice, moral values, peace and freedom.'[41]

The crusading period through its war propaganda produced a 'distorted image' of Islam in the Christian West and the continuing influence of this image still causes many Westerners to be prejudiced against Islam.[42] The Christian missions, influenced by the crusade literature gave the destruction of Islam as a faith, community and civilization, top priority on their agenda. In Sudan the mission failed completely to establish a Christian civilization, Christian society and a Christian man. Yet the mission had some success in destroying the image of Islam and creating a situation which was neither African, Christian or Islamic, a situation in which Southerners were paralysed and torn apart by tensions and conflict created by Western culture which shook the traditional mentality to its roots. The Christian propaganda increased the racial, ethnic, religious and cultural diversities, polarized the community and frictionalized the elite. The main contribution of missionary intellectualism was to be found in the mutual mistrust, fear and animosity between North and South.

Christianity is declining because the Church does not appear to give answers to the questions that people are asking. Its faith is extremely difficult and complicated. The Church's God is extremely European and does not fit in with the local atmosphere. Islam seems to provide more answers to questions such as: Is there a God? What is He like? Why is there such incredible unfairness and inequality? Islam has the answers to the spiritual problems of the modern world. Africa is more related to the Islamic cultural sphere where Islam's symbolization of reality is simple, understandable and appeals to the African mentality. 'Christianity was first of all the teaching of Jesus himself suppressed in the Hebrew categories of Palestine, but later it adopted the Greek categories of the Roman empire, and to a great extent became identified with these'.[43]

The teachings of Jesus were absorbed in the Greek and Romanic culture to the extent that it is not possible to discriminate Jesus' teaching from Caesar's. 'Conversion from one religious adherence to another is in general not a purely intellectual matter, but involves various social and psychological factors . . . The successes of the Christian missionary movements in the nineteenth century were in a sense cross-cultural, occurred among primitive people at a low cultural level . . . Such people when the missionaries came with Western culture as well as Christianity, were so overwhelmed by the superiority of the missionaries' culture that they largely abandoned their own culture . . . no intellectual satisfaction to amateur nor Western religio-cultural tradition.'[44]

European traders and missionaries shared many views common to civilization. 'Because Western civilization possessed evident technical superiority over all others, it was difficult to resist the conclusion that it also possessed a cultural and, even moral superiority. They would have supported the opinion of Lord Macaulay, who could not conceive there could possibly be any authentic civilization other than the European.'[45]

The Church's way of recruitment shows no respect for the identity, dignity and integrity of the young African, who goes to school to be educated, to be fit for life; they found

themselves qualified only to follow the Church. A child is not capable of taking important decisions. Exercising religious pressures at the formative age to shape intellectual and mental development and attitude is both child abuse and religious abuse. The missionaries resorted to every measure to force Africans into Christianity. Some missionaries used food as a tool of Christianization among people faced with famine, forcing Christianity upon people in need and showing no respect for human dignity. Many Christians do acknowledge the failure of former generations and contemporaries to live up to Christian ideals. Still one or two Christian bodies attempt to defend certain racist policies on Christian grounds. They believe in the Old Testament racial story, where Ham looked at his father's nakedness and laughed. When Noah awoke he learnt of this and cursed his son: 'May God change the seed of your kins and blacken your face; you shall beget none but blacks and Ham begot the Nuba and the blacks.' Thousands of European Christians, missionaries, traders and officials served in Southern Sudan. Some spent all their life there, some died there. They looked upon African women, at their best, as deserving sympathy but not conjugal love. Many of them were treated as a commodity, deserted after being abused. There is not a single instance of a European man returning to Europe with a Sudanese wife. Some men abandoned their family without money and without hope after making easy money by exploitation. Racism is rarely to be found among Muslims, who freely intermarry with Africans without prejudice.

An African Inland Mission missionary summed up the Church situation in Southern Sudan: 'Every imaginable agency is represented in Southern Sudan . . . relief and development is big business here. Projects often fail before the very eyes of their foreign managers . . . The institutional church in Southern Sudan has often proved to be as chaotic and strife-torn as the country itself . . . Every major denomination has experienced instability resulting from debilitating power struggles within its ranks. It is not so much the Muslim government in Khartoum as internal strife that has made the church less than effective in Sudan. In fact, the government in the North does little to prevent the spread

of the gospel . . . Even the foreigner in the South may openly teach and preach Jesus Christ, even in the government schools, hospitals and prisons. It is folly to suggest that the Islamic government in Khartoum poses a greater threat to the cause of Christ here than do Garang's[46] guerrillas . . . The church presently enjoys freedom of witness. One can only speculate whether a victory by Garang's forces supposedly fighting for "Christianity" would permit the same. The recent history of Christianity in Ethiopia and Mozambique would seem to suggest otherwise.'[47]

The Catholic Church faces the same problem in Sudan. The Catholic indigenous community are unconscious of their religious obligations. They do not pursue the Christian faith. The following appears in a report produced by the Catholic journal *Pro Mundi Vita: Dossiers* under the sub-title 'The Thorn in the Flank of the Church': 'The most pressing problem the Catholic Church faced was finding sufficient priests who were wholeheartedly dedicated to the apostolate . . . Some bishops seemed more eager to visit European capitals than the parishes of their diocese. The local clergy were few in number, and some soon proved unreliable and useless, lacking apostolic zeal and commitment . . . Twenty five priests, who themselves had been refugees in Uganda . . . upon their return in 1972 . . . they assembled in the church premises of the main towns; some wasted their time in idleness, unconcerned as they were with the spiritual needs of their people. Eventually they left the ministry[48] . . . Since 1944 a total of 111 native priests have been ordained in the Sudan. Seventeen have since died . . . Some 38 (40 per cent) have left the ministry. During 1983 a total of 12 lived in Europe and the USA, officially to pursue "further studies", but more likely to escape the hardships of pastoral work among their own people. Again, others live a far from exemplary life and some are employed in both the administration of the church and of the government. Twelve Sudanese priests hold degrees in theological disciplines, but none of them at present teaches in the major seminary . . . Thus the long-cherished dream of a Sudanese church "standing on her own feet" soon came to nought[49] . . . In the South the church enjoys full freedom of action, but its main drawback is

shortage of personnel. Of the 62 parishes two-thirds are without a resident priest . . . It can be said that there are numerous Christians but not yet a Christianised society. Many Christians tend to relapse into pagan practices, especially witchcraft and polygamy. And a healthy growth of the church is stymied by evil habits such as drunkenness, exploitation of hospitality, laxity in sexual morality, laziness, excessive dancing and the use of narcotics. Once the regional government was established, bribery, embezzlement and misuse of public property, black-marketing and irresponsibility in public offices have become common practices among officials and the elite.'[50] Christianity has lost its way in Sudan.

The Anglican Church is trying to compromise the teaching of the Bible, to allow the African to stay within its dominion. No longer do the Anglicans believe in what Zwemer said. It is more important that African Christianity should be pure, than that all of Africa should profess Christianity. The Anglicans did not like to accept this conclusion, but they were forced into it. Joseph Lague, ex-Vice President, abolished attending church because of its internal conflicts.[51]

A lesson can be learned from the failure of the Church in Sudan. Education is a means not an end in itself. Education can be constructive – sometimes destructive – it depends on the quality and its relevance to the environment and culture. The failure of the Church culture expressed itself in the Southern mission-educated elite's declining performance. This failure has nothing to do with the quality of the Church's personnel. The Church has provided Sudan with able, talented and devoted people, who have dedicated their life to the most difficult task of implementing a European Church in Sudan. Comboni vowed to his God: Africa – Sudan – or death. The Catholics have since dug more than sixty graves in Sudan. The average service period of the second generation of priests in Sudan is twenty years. Many priests like Gwynne, Geyer, Ohrwalder, Giffin, Guthrie, and Elisbetta Venturini stayed nearly half a century and died at Khartoum, and hundreds of other zealous missionaries spent all of their lives in Sudan, sacrificing everything, time, fortune, future and easy European lifestyle, to work in the desolation of Sudan among the mosquitoes, flies and swamps.

These pioneers exerted every conceivable effort to convert the Sudanese; yet the result has been a disaster: a self-seeking elite, motivated by the unrealistic aspirations of foreign culture and foreign names. Giving converts or schoolboys foreign culture and Christian names is in subtle conflict with the ideal of making them better members of their tribe and fitting them for their community life. A foreign name is a symbol of the foreignness of the new religion and education, and an obvious cause of antagonism to the North's Sudanese culture and tradition, and an antithesis of integration. Arnold Toynbee commented on this phenomena: 'Already there are some Dinkas and Shilluks who, in two generations, have turned into modern men. One of these the co-author of a recently published book in English on the Southern Sudanese question, has been baptized William. This Mr. William Deng is now emigre. If I were he, I should change my Christian name from William to Hereward.'[52]

Steamers, aeroplanes, trade, missions and governmental institutions suddenly brought the Southern people into direct contact and political association with a people from whom they are still four thousand years away in terms of civilization and psychology. The weak are naturally suspicious of the strong, but the mission tried to take advantage of that. For the first half of the twentieth century, the missionaries committed themselves to the ideology of replacing Islam and Arabic culture with the white man's Christianity. Subsequently their Southerner disciples, when they failed to defend the same policies intellectually, brought about wars, tensions and the art of pursuing the negative side of the culture of segregation. Since the year before Sudan's independence till today and the approach of the twenty-first century, Southern Sudan has experienced tensions, unrest and internal conflict. When in 1982, the elite achieved their dream of regional self-government, the tension and unrest reshaped itself in an inter-tribal elite conflict. Most of the region's resources were exploited in a shameful way by the elite. The obsession to acquire power developed a destructive mentality, to the extent that some of the elite destroyed public offices, public facilities and governmental houses, so as to deprive their fellow Southerners of enjoying them. The

Christianized elite with their narrow-minded outlook and self-centred interests created a dynamic fusion of corruption and deprivation which has transformed Southern Sudan into a country of desolation and hopelessness.

Some missionaries reacted to this ugly outcome by defending mission education because, without it, there would be no education, and something is better than nothing. And we should remember that without mission education, no Southerner could stand on his own feet against the North. It could be argued that Southern Sudan needs education to stand *with* the North, not against it. But the argument is self-refuting. If the mission educational venture had not been there, the government would have stepped in to fill the vacuum. Actually the government was capable of taking responsibility for education, but the mission's sinister motives prompted it to relinquish its educational responsibility. But for the mission mentality of a Southern closed district policy and Southern policy, the Southern youth would have gone voluntarily to the North to live, to work, and to be educated. There would have been millions of the kind of man called Deng Majok.[53]

Deng Majok was a unique individual and Dinka leader, not necessarily because he was created so, but largely because he adopted and integrated into his Dinka value system, elements of Arab Islamic culture. In 1951, when the British tried to persuade him to take his tribe to the South, he firmly resolved to remain in the North, to co-exist adopting certain aspects of Arab-Islamic culture, creating a zone for co-operation, integration, development and self-enhancement. He was accepted by the Arabs not only as an equal but even a leader of their combined Dinka-Arab council. He gave his tribe Ngok Dinka much to be proud of, even though they were a minority in the Kordofan Arab domination. His leadership position and his tribe's fortunes were undermined particularly by his Christian mission-educated sons, who failed to fill his shoes.[54] In April 1983, the senior sons of Deng Majok emerged as outlaw leaders. The peace, unity and harmony which the Ngok enjoyed during Deng Majok's lifetime were replaced by war, conflicts and devastation. Abya was sacked, bloodbaths became the norm.

The outlaws did not discriminate between civil communities and military ones. Members of the local communities became merely displaced people, wandering about in the forest and wilderness. Such was the unhappy conclusion to an episode of peaceful co-existence, harmonious co-operation and a fruitful dynamic of identification.

The greatest tragedy caused by Western Christianity with its materialistic, commercial outlook was that it aroused expectations that could not be fulfilled regardless of circumstances. The dynamic of Western culture, with its liquor, sensational cinema and litter, spoon and fork, dress, expensive way of living and monogamy among basically staple-diet, poor, primitive and polygamous African societies, enslaved the body, corrupted the mind and created a world of confusion.

The new generation faces confusion, and a crass and material form of atheism, veiled by Christian names. Christianity is undergoing a transition, not necessarily completely disappearing. A sort of secularization or cultural pragmatism is emerging as a compromise between the pressures and aspirations of Christian culture and the requirements of local traditions and culture.

The Arabic language is expanding, the Arabic way of dress and thinking is gaining ground. Christianity has defeated itself and the forces of secularization which were generated by it have lessened the chances of any future Christian revival. For a Muslim, the question is, can Islam respond to this challenge? The answer may be Yes. But the North needs to consider the time factor, to be patient and treat its Southern brothers with love and to leave no room for those who want to keep Sudan at war.

Notes and References

1. *Pro Mundi Vita: Dossiers,* Quarterly 1.1.84, 'The Catholic Church in Sudan: A Golden Opportunity Lost', p. 12.

2. Bishop Gabriel Zubeir was from the Zande tribe. He was born in 1947 and ordained a priest in 1962. He got his MA in theology. He became outspoken against the government and its policies to implement Islamic laws in the North. He was favoured with the seat of Archbishop of

Khartoum against the late venerated Archbishop Dud, who was more lenient and co-operative with the authorities.

3. *Pro Mundi Vita,* op. cit., p. 19.

4. Ibid.

5. When I visited Malakal, in March, 1988, I found only one expatriate Catholic sister. She runs an orphanage with about ten children.

6. *FOCUS on Christian-Muslim Relations,* No. 5, 1982, The Islamic Foundation, Leicester, quoting the African Press Service quotation of Augustine Boroni.

7. The first major Catholic seminary for the Sudan was opened in 1954 at Tore River, between Yei and Meridi. Up to that time, Sudanese seminaries received their training in Uganda. During the civil war days it was transferred to Gulu in Uganda. After 1972, it was for a short time in Juba, then Wau. In 1978, the Bishops of the Sudan decided that the major seminary should have a permanent seat in the vicinity of Juba. Until 1985 all theological students went to Juba. The students for the theological courses number about forty.

8. Until 1950 the Catholics of the Khartoum Vicariate had all been expatriate. But due to the mass Southern immigration, the number of adult converts increased by about 2,000 annually. The diocese is run by foreign and Southerner priests and sisters. The diocese has produced Christian literature in local languages. More than a million copies of these have been mimeographed and distributed though the number of Catholics hardly exceeds 50,000. The other Southern diocese is El Obeid, with a Catholic population estimated at 46,000. The diocese is administered by a Nubian Sudanese, Mgr. Makram Max, who was appointed Apostolic administrator in November, 1983. Its staff of 10 priests, 5 brothers, 15 Verona Sisters and 4 Good Shepherds are all expatriates. The diocese has 10 parishes. In Southern Sudan there were 62 parishes.

9. *Focus* 12/83.

10. The Americans had warned President Numeiry against the redivision of the South. The CIA had its own men among the mutineers as did Israel and Ethiopia. Some sources say the Americans encouraged the mutiny secretly after the redivision. John Garang was from the Dinka. He was educated in Tanzania and the US and trained in Israel.

11. Charles Gurdon, *Sudan at the Crossroads,* England, 1984, pp. 87–97.

12. Ibid., p. 71.

13. The SPLM operation was led by Ladu Lokurange who was a committed Marxist and Equatorian, a former law student at the Khartoum branch of the University of Cairo.

14. Ethiopia has been involved in the disciplining, detention and even death of SPLM officials.

15. *Focus* 11/84.

16. *Focus* 3/84.

17. *Focus* 11/83.

18. *Focus* 6/85.

19. Ibid.

20. *Focus* 1/86, p. 6. Again in 1987, the Catholic Bishop Tabarur repeated the same invitation: 'I appeal to our friends in America, Russia and Europe to stop giving arms to our country.'

21. *Omnis Terra*, December, 1985.

22. *Focus* 4/86, p. 7.

23. *Focus* 8/86, p. 8.

24. *Focus* 12/86, p. 6.

25. The Koka Dam Declaration was an accord ratified by the SPLM and the secular forces in Sudan. The Declaration was based on abolishing the *Sharī'ah*. Sayyed Ideris al-Banna, one of the Umma Party leaders and a member of the Supreme Council of the Sudan, was one of those who ratified the Accord.

26. *Focus* 1/87.

27. *International Herald Tribune,* Thursday, 9 July, 1987, p. 2.

28. *The Guardian,* Friday, 10 July, 1987.

29. *Focus* 10/87, p. 6.

30. See *al-Riyh,* Sudanese newspaper, Monday, 26 October 1987, p. 4; Saturday, 31 October 1987, p. 3; Sunday, 1 November, 1987, p. 3; Thursday, 12 November, 1987, p. 3.

31. The paper tried to make something out of the tribal conflict between different tribes in Southern and Western Sudan. These conflicts, though they are sad, have been a part of life for decades. The good people of Sudan look to the day when such conflicts cease. Such negative claims flourished in the early 1980s against the Dinka when debates were going on about whether to divide Southern Sudan. The Dinka were described as a racially-biased group of people bent on enslaving all other Southern Sudanese ethnic groups.

32. *All Africa Press Service,* 25/88, 27 June, 1988, p. 6.

33. *The Universe,* Sunday, 24 July, 1988, p. 6.

34. The shroud is a piece of cloth venerated by many Christians as the burial cloth of the crucified Jesus. However, tests on tiny samples of

the cloth conducted in Oxford, Zurich and Tucson, Arizona showed that it was a 14th-century artefact and could not therefore have been Jesus' burial cloth.

35. Walbert Buhlmann, OFMC, *The Missions on Trial,* Addis Ababa, 1980. *A Moral for the Future from the Archives of Today,* St. Paul Publications, Slough, England, October 1978, p. 27.

36. Emmanuel Milingo, born in 1930, ordained in 1958, was consecrated Bishop by Pope Paul VI during his visit to Uganda in 1969. In 1982 he was called to Rome where he had to undergo a series of interrogations, medical tests and brainwashing.

37. *Pro Mundi Vita: Dossiers,* 2–3, 1986, p. 7.

38. Ibid.

39. In Mozambique in 1986, 80 per cent of priests were still expatriates; after more than a century the church is still a foreign institution.

40. *All Africa Press Service,* August, 1988, p. 1.

41. George Emile Ivari, 'The Holy See and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict', in Kail C. Ellis, *The Vatican, Islam and the Middle East,* Syracuse University Press, 1987, p. 130.

42. W. Montgomery Watt, 'Thoughts on Muslim-Christian Dialogue', *Hamdard Islamicus,* Karachi, Vol. 1, No. 1, Summer 1978, p. 5.

43. Ibid., p. 7.

44. Ibid., p. 9.

45. Paul Santic and Richard Hill, *The European in the Sudan, 1834–78,* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1980, p. 25.

46. The reference here is to SPLM. John Garang is their leader.

47. 'Power Struggles Rip Church, Society in Southern Sudan', *Pulse,* bi-monthly bulletin published by Evangelical Missions Information Service, 10 July, 1987, Geneva, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 2–3.

48. *Pro Mundi Vita: Dossiers,* op. cit., p. 7.

49. Ibid., pp. 13–14.

50. Gwynne, Geyer, Ohrwalder, Giffin, Guthrie, Elisbetta, ibid., p. 15.

51. *Sanabil,* Sudanese weekly magazine, 19 October, 1988, p. 8. An interview with Joseph Lague.

52. A.J. Toynbee, *Between the Niger and the Nile,* Oxford University Press, 1965, p. 33.

53. See Francis Mading Derud, *The Man Called Deng Majok: A Biography of Power, Polygamy and Change,* Yale University Press, 1986.

54. The Ngok area fell under the Southern educational system and within the Catholic sphere of influence. Abyei Elementary School was established by the government, but from the start it was run by Majok's two Catholic sons. Some of Majok's sons who received their education in the North were Muslims. The Catholic group who were a product of a polygamous society, found themselves in conflict with the requirements of the faith when the infallible Pope said that polygamy was against God's design.

Public Record Office document, FO371/126016.

Clarifying the role of the Church in dragging up the slavery story before independence.

Conversation with Canon Bewes, African Sec., CMS, on December 17th, 1957.

Southern Sudan

1. The RC Church had been less co-operative with government changes in education than the Protestants. As a result the govt. were now more co-operative with Protestant missionaries than RC's. The Southern Sudanese might possibly accuse the Protestants of letting them down, but there was no evidence of this.
2. The CMS had long accepted the unity of the Sudan and there was no question of any of their missionaries now dragging up the 'slavery' story. But the Southern Sudanese themselves were still very conscious of the history of slavery.
3. A missionary particularly interested in agriculture, Stephen Carr, had asked the Governor of Equatoria for 800 acres of good land on which to establish a (Christian) training school for farmers. He had been given 1,000 acres and had started work 15 miles from Yei.
4. In the South the CMS had 5 ordained missionaries and 36 lay missionaries and 22 Sudanese clergy. Church membership was 50,000 and in 1956 there were 5,000 baptisms. There were about 9 mission stations.
5. The Theological College at Mundri was doing well. The govt. wanted them to run courses for teachers going to teach scripture in govt. schools.
6. Canon Bewes introduced me to John Parry, Headmaster at Yei Teacher Training College. Parry said there

was no interference in the school at all. Moreover, the govt. met his demands for transport, equipment, etc. quicker than the demands of Southern Sudanese headmasters. He himself was technically 'seconded' by CMS to a govt. school. But the object of the govt. was to be able to say that all schools were state-controlled; in practice they did not interfere.

7. Islam was not making any noticeable headway in the South. The Arabic language on the other hand was steadily being introduced into the schools and the local languages were now being 'translated' for spelling purposes into Arabic script.
8. The South was still very poor and development was scarcely noticeable.
9. Meetings were forbidden without permission and there was little interest in politics. The politicians were a poor lot and could not hold together.
10. The Southerners at University College Khartoum were a good lot.

APPENDIX 2

Public Record Office document, FO371/97044.

A letter from the British Council of Churches demanding an amendment in Sudan's proposed Constitution regarding the right of the individual to change his religion.

21st May, 1952

H.M. Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,
Foreign Office,
LONDON, S.W.1

Sir,

I am requested by the International Department of this Council to lay the following matter before you.

2. The interests of Christian organizations in the Near and Middle East are jointly represented by the Near East Christian Council with headquarters in Cairo. This body, acting on the request of its representative in the Sudan, has drawn our attention to Article 7 of the proposed new constitution for the Sudan, which we understand to read as follows:

> (1) All persons shall enjoy freedom of conscience, and the right to profess their religion, subject only to such conditions relating to morality, public order, or health as may be imposed by law.
> (2) All persons shall have the right of free expression of opinion, and the right of free association and combination, subject to the law.

3. We appreciate that this form of words is intended to be liberal in its scope and to afford satisfactory guarantees to persons of any religious persuasion. But we submit that, on examination, it does not provide sufficient guarantees; in

particular, it does not explicitly provide for the right of the individual to change his religion, nor does it specify with sufficient exactitude what meaning should be given to such terms as 'profess' and 'expression'.

4. We submit that the form adopted in Article 18 of the Declaration of Human Rights is to be preferred as meeting these defects. The Egyptian Government itself voted for the Declaration, although we understand that it has opposed the incorporation of the text of Article 18 into Article 13 of the draft Covenant. Nevertheless we would wish to urge Her Majesty's Government to consider the desirability of framing Article 7 of the Sudan Constitution on this model. The text in question is:

> (1) Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right shall include freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.
> (2) Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs shall be subject only to such limitations as are pursuant to law and are reasonable and necessary to protect public safety, order, health, or morals or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.

5. My department attaches considerable importance to this question, and I should be happy to call at the Foreign Office to discuss it with the appropriate officials, if you should so desire.

Kenneth G. Grubb
Chairman,
International Department

APPENDIX 3

Public Record Office document, FO371/119686.

A sample of the Catholic press campaign against Sudan dated 1st June, 1956, published in the *Catholic Herald.* Document FO371/119686, 'An Answer to Parliamentary Question', shows the contrast.

GOVERNMENT TAKING OVER ALL MISSION SCHOOLS: CRISIS LOOMS IN THE SUDAN: NO PERSONAL PROTECTION FOR THE MISSIONARIES

All mission schools in the South Sudan are to be taken over by the Government as a means of 'unifying' the education systems throughout the country, the Minister of Education, Ali Abdel Rahman, told a meeting of missionaries in Juba this week.

This is the latest of many blows to missionary work in the newly independent State. From the missionaries' point of view the situation is rapidly going from bad to worse.

So far as is known there is hardly a Catholic mission school left open at this moment. For years the Verona Fathers have administered schools in the South – in the past with the co-operation of the British authorities.

Today, following the hasty withdrawal of the British officials, they are personally left virtually unprotected in a situation where anti-European passions are easily aroused. And their work is at the mercy of a Government which is almost inevitably unsympathetic towards it.

The support which the mission schools received from the British authorities has gone. The missionaries must now deal with a Sudanese Government which is dominated by representatives of the solidly Islamic North.

REWARDING

Missionary activity among the pagans of the South who have little in common with the North, has been increasingly

rewarding in recent years and the Church has made great progress among them. The first Sudanese Bishop was consecrated last year.

Ali Abdel Rahman told a London *Times* correspondent last Monday that the unification of the education system would take some five years. It was already agreed that Arabic (the language of the Islamic North) should become the medium of instruction in all Southern schools.

The ordinary school syllabus would, he said, be completely secularised, although facilities would be provided for teaching Christianity to Christians.

Whether that assurance has any value remains to be seen. If present trends continue it is doubtful whether many Catholic missionaries will be left in the Sudan to operate any such scheme.

A fortnight ago a group of priests were expelled without warning. They were simply told that an aircraft was waiting to take them out of the country that same night.

The Catholic mission in the Sudan, with the exception of one small territory which is manned by Mill Hill Fathers, is entirely in the hands of the Verona Fathers, whose whole society was founded in the middle of the last century, for the mission to the Sudan.

The problems now arising in the Sudan may well be repeated as one Islamic people after another gains its independence – an independence which the Church insists is in principle right and desirable.

In the past the work of the missionaries in these countries was very largely made possible by the presence of representatives of the colonising Power which maintained law and order, so protecting the missionaries, and which assisted with their educational activities.

When they come under a Moslem-dominated Government in which the nationalist sentiments of the newly liberated people are naturally strong, the situation, for the time being at least, becomes immensely more difficult.

D.H.

Parliamentary Question

Major Patrick Wall: To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to what degree the work of mission schools staffed by British subjects in the Southern Sudan has suffered through discrimination since the transference of power.

We do not know of any instance of discrimination against a British Mission school in the Southern Sudan.

2. The mutiny last August resulted in all schools being temporarily closed by government order. This has now been revoked. All the Church Missionary Society boys' schools which the society intends to keep in being are expected to restart early in July. (Girls' schools will not be reopened until the government girls' schools are also ready to reopen). It is true that the C.M.S. intend to close a number of village schools in Bahr al-Ghazal; the Bor district of Upper Nile province; and Equatoria province. This was decided upon before the mutiny, however, and is because of lack of missionary staff and not government action.

3. Co-operation between the missions and the Sudanese Government and local administration is at present satisfactory. Some months ago a number of British missionaries were involved in disputes with local authorities or charged with offences before the courts. Six of them (three Catholic and three Anglican) have been prevented by administrative action from returning to their posts. The C.M.S. discussed these cases with us at the time and did not ask H.M.G. to intervene. There have been no new cases.

4. In a speech at Juba on May 25 the Sudanese Minister of Education said that the missionaries must expect a gradual transition to a unified system of education by the state, with the door remaining open for participation in education by non-government bodies. The Sudanese Government intends to introduce Arabic education in the South: and the missionaries have agreed to co-operate.

5. If Major Wall can gave details of any specific case we shall have to ask H.M. Ambassador to investigate.

J.H.A. Watson
June 19, 1956

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Index

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SUDAN: THE CHRISTIAN DESIGN presents a Sudanese point of view of the history, role and dimension of Christian mission activities in the Sudan and their impact during the period 1843 to 1986.

The study sheds light on the causes of the cultural crisis which led to Sudan's 35 years of civil war and the Southern Sudanese elite's dilemma of searching for an identity in Independent Sudan. An attempt is made to explore the relation between mission and secular discourse extremism, and the phenomena of raising arms and involvement in guerrilla activities against the right of Islamic culture to exist in the South and to dominate in the North. The study concludes that Islam should be given an opportunity to help redress the present human tragedy in Southern Sudan.

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